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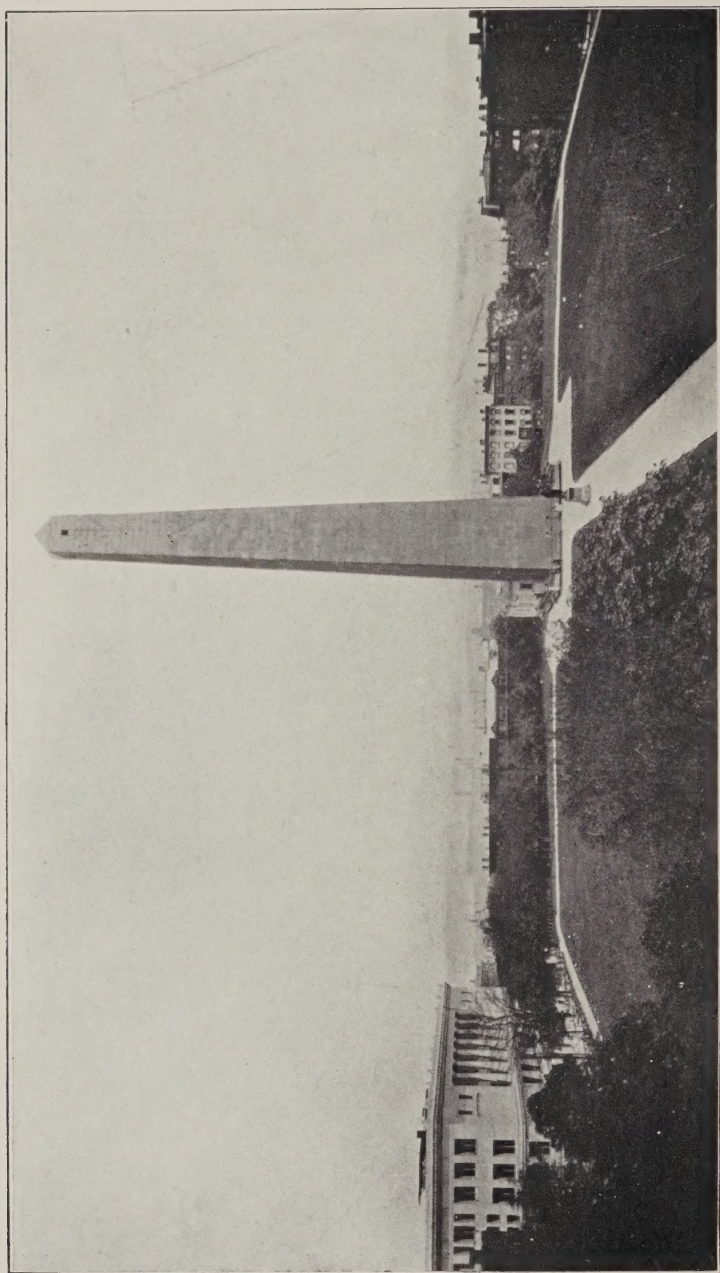
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1908



BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
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PROCEEDINGS.

BOSTON, June 17, 1908.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme at 10 o'clock this day. The President, Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, presided.

Prayer was offered by the Vicar-General, Reverend GEORGE J. PATTERSON.

The call for the meeting and the Records of the last Annual Meeting were read.

The President then delivered his Annual Address, on "The Association and Its Work."

Honorable WILLIAM EVERETT delivered an address. It appears on page 25.

Honorable WINSLOW WARREN read an unpublished historical manuscript — a poem by Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, the sister of James Otis and the wife of General James Warren. It is given on page 49.

The Treasurer presented his Annual Report, with that of the Auditors. They were accepted and placed on file.

The several Addresses, together with the Report of the Treasurer and the usual lists of Honorary and Resident Members, were referred to the Standing Committee for publication in its discretion.

The Association then elected as Resident Members the persons who had been approved by the Standing Committee.

A Nominating Committee consisting of Messrs. JAMES DE NORMANDIE, WINSLOW WARREN, and THOMAS H. HALL was appointed by the Chair, and on their recommendation the Officers named on page 9 were elected to serve the Association for the coming year.

The Annual Meeting of the Corporation was then dissolved.

OFFICERS.

President.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN.

Vice-Presidents.

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio.*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.	WINSLOW WARREN.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE.	JOHN DAVIS LONG.

Treasurer.

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN.

Secretary.

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN.

Directors.

ARTHUR AMORY.
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER.
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH.
HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH.
EDWARD BROOKS.
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE.
CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM.
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER.
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD.
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
WILLIAM ENDICOTT.
WILLIAM EVERETT.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS.
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.
HENRY FITCH JENKS.

DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL.
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON.
GARDINER MARTIN LANE.
JOHN LATHROP.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE.
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.
WALDO LINCOLN.
ARTHUR LORD.
THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.
FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN.
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
JOHN NOBLE.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND.
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL.
MOORFIELD STOREY.
NATHANIEL THAYER.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
HENRY WALKER.
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN.
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

It is my pleasant duty to welcome you to-day to the eighty-fifth annual meeting of our Association. In so doing it gives me satisfaction to be able to congratulate you upon the flourishing character of the Association.

The first meeting was held in the Exchange Coffee House in 1823, and since that time the places of the meetings of the Association have varied considerably. In glancing over a list of the annual meetings, we find that the society met for three years in the Exchange Coffee House, and subsequently in the Subscription House, Park Street, and then in the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Athenæum; following this, in Faneuil Hall and in the rooms of the Supreme Court; still later, in various places of business, such as the Merchants' Exchange Building, and finally in the rooms of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, where the Association had an abiding-place for nearly twenty years. In recent years the society has met in the rooms of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and finally at the Hotel Vendôme. On only one occasion does there appear to have been a meeting in Charlestown, and this was in the High School building in Monument Square in 1881. My own earliest recollections of the social gatherings of the Association were within the historic precincts of Charlestown itself; older members of the Association will recall the hospitable receptions of Richard Frothingham, of George

Washington Warren, of Uriel Crocker, and many others who have taken a deep interest in the prosperity of the society. The meetings at Mr. Crocker's residence were held within the limits of the city of Boston, and now of late years we have settled down to a quiet social gathering after our business meeting in one of the Boston hostleries. It is under conditions such as these that the interest in the meetings has been maintained, and the attendance of the members has steadily increased at this somewhat venerable period of our history.

But while we gather together, and from our calm point of view are able to study in a somewhat academic way the great events which cluster around the opening battles of the Revolution, we should not forget that the public interest in the celebration of the 17th of June has slowly but steadily increased of late years. Time brings many changes, and this is true of Charlestown as well as of other parts of the world. The people are changing too, and a great popular celebration is developing itself which needs to be guided, and to a certain extent controlled, by older heads and those who are more in touch with the spirit which animated the past.

It is this great growth of interest in the citizens of greater Boston, and more especially of Charlestown, that of late years has given rise to many problems not easy of solution. We all feel quite sure that the unrestrained energies of the more exuberant of the community have needed in the past a guiding hand, and we are glad to see that through the efforts of a committee composed of the foremost citizens of Charlestown some of the undesirable features of recent celebrations are not likely to be repeated.

But we must look upon this situation from its brighter side, and I think we ought to realize that there are powerful interests and forces at work which, if properly guided, would be potent for good, both from an historical and an educa-

tional point of view, in that community. It is, therefore, a pleasure to feel that the work of the celebration to-day is in the hands of men quite capable of working out the problem along proper lines, and developing a holiday worthy of the great occasion it is intended to celebrate.

I would like to call attention here to preliminary meetings that have been held by one or two organizations in Charlestown, and the patriotic spirit which has animated them, and I cannot help feeling that when once this spirit has been duly aroused the hands of the leaders of the celebration will be greatly strengthened.

To what extent the Association itself shall take part in the celebration of the day remains still a question which will require some study and prayerful thought on the part of your committee. The great success of these meetings as they have been held of late years makes it seem undesirable to develop any program which is likely materially to interfere with their continuance along present lines. At the same time, it might be quite possible for the society to show its sympathy and interest in the proceedings of the day in Charlestown by taking part in some one of the numerous exercises that go to make up the program of the celebration of the 17th of June.

The present condition of the grounds and lodge in Monument Square is satisfactory. The improvements in the interior of the lodge do, I think, commend themselves to all those members of the Association who have recently visited it. I would call attention to the fact that it is the plan of the present management to limit the decorations in the lodge to portraits or busts of persons connected directly with the battle and the events directly associated with it. And this brings me to call the attention of the society to the fact that no inscriptions of a commemorative character are to be found in any part of the lodge or monument. While

we recall the inspiring addresses of Lafayette, of Webster, of Everett, and of many other persons connected with the erection of the monument, there is nothing in the shape of an inscription to remind us of the great work which the architect, Solomon Willard, accomplished. And in this connection we are reminded that there is nothing to indicate to the vast throng of people who yearly visit the monument the more important events connected with the battle, and with the erection of the monument. A committee, therefore, has undertaken the task of preparing an inscription which we hope to be able to place upon one of the panels in the interior of the lodge.

Your President would like also to call your attention to the great interest that would be created by the addition of mementos of participants, or incidents of the battle, as features of the monument grounds.

During the past year the attention of the Directors has been called by Mr. W. C. Gompf of Hartford, Conn., to the fact that there is in the citadel of Quebec, Canada, a small cannon which bears the inscription: "Captured by the British army, June 17, 1775." Upon referring this communication to Col. Horace N. Fisher, he concluded that this gun must have been one of Captain Trevett's guns which was used with execution at the Rail Fence at the time of the battle, and which our forces were obliged to abandon in their retreat. The Directors have been in correspondence with the authorities of the Dominion of Canada regarding the restoration of this relic, but as yet no definite results have been reached.

The suggestion made at our last Annual Meeting as to architectural improvements in the Square were intended more for the future than for the present. At the present time there does not seem to be any immediate prospect of any considerable change in the architectural character of the Square. An old and attractive estate is indeed in the market,

and it would be a most gratifying circumstance were it possible that the City or some organization could preserve it there in its present form, or take the opportunity to replace it by some structure of a monumental character. This is a matter, however, which time only and an enlightened public opinion will enable a community like that of Charlestown to work out for itself.

Since our last Annual Meeting three members of our Board of Directors have died, all of them bearing names more or less associated with events of our Revolutionary era.

DAVID HILL COOLIDGE, the oldest of these, died in Boston on December 7, 1907. He was born in Boston February 7, 1833. On his maternal side his grandfather, David Hill, fought in the Revolution, and his great-uncles also fought for their country's independence; they were Samuel Hill, killed at the battle of Bunker Hill, and Jeremiah Hill, who was in the fight at Lexington, and also in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Mr. Coolidge fitted for college at the Boston Latin School, and was graduated from Harvard University with the class of 1854. After graduation he studied at the Dane Law School, and was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1857. He occupied many positions of public trust. He was a Commissioner in Insolvency at one time, a member of the Boston Common Council, as well as of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. During the Civil War he was an extra secretary to Governor Andrew. For several years he was a trustee of the Boston City Hospital and an active member of the Corporation of the Home for Aged Men. He was a member of the Unitarian Club, of the Massachusetts State Society Sons of the American Revolution, a director of the Bostonian Society, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

This record shows that Mr. Coolidge was a citizen of our town of public spirit and deeply interested in its charities

and historical associations. A modest gentleman of worth and influence in the community, we were glad to number him as a member of our Board. It is pleasant to feel that he has left behind him descendants whose training under his auspices gives promise that the old stock is still to be maintained in all its original strength and integrity.

SOLOMON LINCOLN was the next in order of seniority of our Board of Directors. He bears a name replete with memories not only of Revolutionary days, but of our early colonial history. Mr. Lincoln was born in Hingham, Mass., August 14, 1838, and died in this city on October 15, 1907. He attended school in Hingham, and at the Derby Academy. He was fitted for college at the well-known school of David B. Tower in the old Park Street Church. He entered Harvard College in 1854 and was graduated in 1857, at the head of his class,—and that, too, in a class containing so many well-known names as to make it worthy of the distinguishing term “celebrated.” On the list of his classmates were the names of Brown, Bartlett, Haven, Higginson, Long, May, Morse, Ropes, Robert Smith, Sowdon, Stackpole, Storrow, and many other men of note.

After serving as a tutor at Harvard in Latin and Greek, he entered the Harvard Law School, receiving the degree of LL.B. in 1864. From the beginning of his career he showed talent in his chosen profession, and has occupied many positions of prominence in this community, as is shown by his long career as Overseer of Harvard College during a period of nearly twenty years, during part of which time he was President of that body. Mr. Lincoln rose to the very head of his profession, and may be regarded as a Nestor of the Suffolk Bar at the time of his death. In 1899 he was chosen President of the Board of Trustees of the Boston Public Library, an office which he held at the time of his death, and was for many years President of the Union Club and the

St. Botolph Club. He was for years also President of the Bar Association, and was one of our Vice-Presidents.

It is not for me to analyze his character in detail on the present occasion. That has already been done by hands far worthier than mine, but I would like to call your attention here to the fact that he was of the purest of our American stock; that he was descended from that large family of Lincolns which has comprised so many men of note in the early history of this community. He was descended directly from Samuel Lincoln, an original settler in Hingham. Several of his ancestors, from whom he was lineally descended, served in the Revolution. He belonged to the same clan that produced Gen. Benjamin Lincoln of Revolutionary fame.

We have on more than one occasion enjoyed the privilege of having Mr. Lincoln preside at our meetings. His exceptionally upright character, his quiet dignity of manner, with his social qualities so attractive to his more intimate friends, were characteristic of the man whose memory we shall cherish with respect, and whose loss we all most sincerely mourn.

The last name upon our list was that of a much younger man, and one less known personally to the members of this Association, but his simple name brings back a flood of memories of early Revolutionary days and events connected with the opening of the Revolution.

LINZEE PRESCOTT was a lineal descendant in the fifth generation of Col. William Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, and a grandson of the historian.

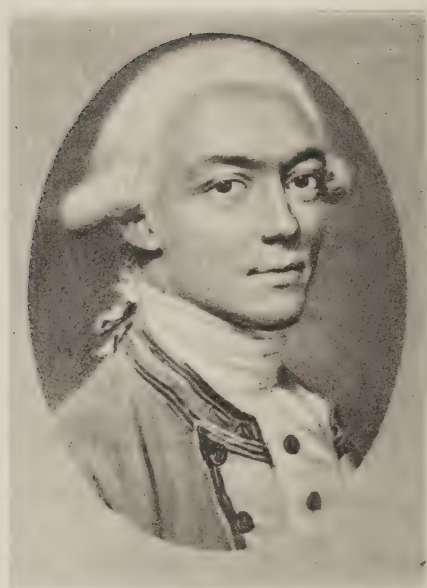
It will be remembered that on the day of the battle the sloop of war "Falcon" was anchored off Moulton's Point, a short distance up the Mystic River. Its special duty was to co-operate with the "Lively" and thus cover the landing of the English troops. The commander of the "Falcon" was Capt. John Linzee. Captain Linzee was wedded to an American wife and had many American friends. This caused him

finally, in the hour of peace, to settle in this country, in the town of Milton, where he died in 1798. Forty-five years after the battle a grandson of Colonel Prescott, William Hickling Prescott, the distinguished historian, married the granddaughter of Captain Linzee. In his opening chapter of "The Virginians" Thackeray says, "On the library wall of one of the most famous writers of America there hang two crossed swords which his relatives wore in the great war of independence,—one sword was gallantly drawn in the service of the king, the other was the weapon of a private and honorable republican soldier. The possessor of the harmless trophy has won for himself a name honored alike in his ancestor's country and in his own, where genius such as his is always peacefully welcome." The swords came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1859. Heliotypes of Captain John Linzee from a miniature belonging to Mr. John Linzee of Boston and of the crossed swords are here given.

Linzee Prescott was born in Boston, November 27, 1859, and died October 24, 1907. After graduating from Mr. Noble's school he went to England and received a portion of his education there, and at St. Paul's School in Concord, N. H. After an experience of ranch life in Nebraska he commenced work at the foot of the ladder in a New England mill. Pursuing his business calling for many years in New York, he did not return to his native city until he became treasurer of the Atlantic Cotton Mills and the Washington Mills.

He married Frances Clifford Brown of Portland, Me., daughter of Philip Brown, and granddaughter of Justice Clifford of the Supreme Court of the United States. His wife, his only son, William Brown Prescott, who was born in 1899, and three daughters survive him.

Long absence from this city during his mature life, and a modest and retiring disposition, prevented him from being



THE SWORD
 worn by him
 while lieutenant of the
 Prominent Forces
 at the
 BATTLE OF HERKES HILL
 17 June 1775,
 and
 bequeathed to the
 MASS HIST. SOCIETY
 by his grandson,
 WILLIAM H. FERGUSON.



THE SWORD
 of
 CAPTAIN JOHN LINZEE, R.N.
 who commanded the
 British Ship of War, *Platoon*
 during the Battle of Trafalgar 1805.
 Presented to the
 MASS HIST. SOCIETY
 14 April 1864,
 by his grandson,
 THOMAS C. A. LINZEE,
 and
 Mrs. Wm. H. FERGUSON.

well known except to a limited circle of intimate friends. They all bear testimony, however, to his manly and industrious habits, and his noble life, which, had it not suddenly been cut short, would have given him a foremost place among our associations, and a name worthy of the one he bore.

ADDRESS
OF
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM EVERETT.

ADDRESS
OF
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM EVERETT.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

IN his learned and elaborate exposition of the battle of Bunker Hill last year, Colonel Fisher expressed his assent to the remarks of Sir George Trevelyan, in his *History of our Revolution*, a work of which the volumes are in regular process of publication. This is indeed a remarkable book, something more than worthy of the attention of American readers; it is indispensable for anyone, on either side of the Atlantic, who wishes to possess a real knowledge of the great struggle.

The history of the American Revolution is a part of the history of England, which was then our ancestors' country. To study it as the contest between two co-ordinate and hostile nations, as we study our wars with Spain and Mexico, is to study it wrong. I have always felt it to be a serious defect in many of our national historians that they do not really know the history of the mother country. They get up certain portions of the history of England when some English name turns up in the course of American history. But they fail to apprehend two things,—first, that until American Independence was fairly acknowledged by treaty, American history was largely a part of English history, and up to 1776 wholly so, not properly to be understood by one who tries to keep them separate. But more than that, the history of England is in itself and for its own sake a subject of study of the very

highest value, and to study it as many Americans do, pretty much as they study a little bit of the history of Spain, because Columbus sailed under the protection of the Queen of Castile, shows a culpable ignorance of what any plan of modern culture ought to contain.

Sir George Trevelyan writes our history as part of the history of Englishmen. His book is so fascinating that no one can resist its charm. It is impartial, if we mean by that word that the author does his best to present with fullness and accuracy the position and aims of both parties; he does not extenuate the blunders nor suppress the successes of either. But, though impartial, he is distinctly not neutral. He is as entirely convinced of the justice of the American cause as ever were Marshall and Bancroft; as sure that the English ministry pursued a tyrannical and suicidal course as ever were Burke and Fox. Yet he spares not a weakness in the Revolutionists. Gates and Sullivan are dealt with as firmly as Howe or Burgoyne; Cornwallis and Grey have full justice done to their talents and good sense. The only prominent character whom he handles with gloves, and while recording his obvious faults fails to recognize his utter treachery, is Charles Lee. When we consider that the author never set foot on our continent, and did not till he was at least thirty years old turn his attention to our story in any intelligent way, his success in telling it is amazing.

His book reaches thus far only through 1778, and one is sadly apprehensive that, like his illustrious uncle, he may never succeed in completing his task. One regrets this the more because, admirably as the work is executed, it has drawn him away from another work, perhaps of less importance, but for that reason less likely to have its full claims recognized — the Life of Fox. His volume on Fox's early life, though in places too discursive, is a most interesting and valuable book, which the author could have finished as it is to be

feared no other ever will. Indeed he seems in his last volume to have forgotten Fox entirely. He only names him once and that indirectly, though our war was the field of his greatest speeches in Parliament.

This is of course no place for a review of Sir George Trevelyan's book. The portion containing the battle of Bunker Hill has been recast, and almost rewritten, as the first volume of a new edition. That it is, with all its merits, inferior to the succeeding volumes is obvious. He fails to treat in detail some important matters, as the so-called "Massacre" and the destruction of the tea. But he has written to me that he is so fully sensible of the inferiority of the first volume in its original form that he wonders at the favor wherewith it was received.

But without seeking to review the book at length, I believe it will be appropriate and profitable to consider certain portions of it and see where they lead us. Some of the most remarkable sections are those which contain his estimate of Washington. The author is entirely ready to criticise when he thinks it best; he censures Washington's attempt, for instance, to hold Manhattan Island. But from that point on, that marvellous character grows on him, as it did on Washington's countrymen and on the world. His patience and fortitude when nothing else was left; his eager looking out for a chance to turn loss into triumph, seized at just the right moment; his personality, almost more than human, which impressed itself on all with whom he came in contact — Sir George Trevelyan feels all these things, as the men of the time felt them, penetrating to his very heart, and convincing him that when Congress invested the general with dictatorial power, it was only what he deserved. Later on he takes up the miserable story of the cabal, which might have ruined another man, which came near ruining Washington, except that he caught the right moment to turn upon Gates as he

had turned upon Rall, and blew the whole conspiracy sky high. We are told about the members of Congress who, when their body was shrunk to a handful, thought patriotic statesmanship demanded that after showing the loftiest heroism they should sink to the basest intrigues, — Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Rush, and Samuel Adams, drawing after him — O shame! — in a moment of jealousy, his nobler kinsman, John.

I confess for myself I have felt a malicious joy in having it put before me more plainly than I knew it before that Samuel Adams was one of those who were most persistently bent on thwarting Washington in the country's darkest hours. Samuel Adams has often been called a demagogue; he seems to me the typical oligarch; the man in whom love of liberty has degenerated into a morbid aversion to any efficient executive government, and who would like to see power perpetually in the hands of a limited senate. Such a man was Cato the Younger; such was Sir Henry Vane; men of undoubted talents, and of undoubted love of their country, provided everybody in the country would adopt their theories. You may call such men conscientious, if you will, but their consciences were so warped that they, one and all, believed that in Rome, in England, in America the one divinely appointed governor of the nation was a Rump. Cato's principles may have been higher than Cæsar's, and Vane's than Cromwell's; but they were not the men for Rome and England; and to compare Samuel Adams and his little coterie of oligarchs with Washington is like comparing the streams that lose themselves in the desert of Damascus with the rolling flood of the Euphrates.

There is, I am happy to say, in Trevelyan's book none of the sickening tone, which is creeping into modern histories, that affects to consider Washington as not only no more than a man, but in many respects rather less; that spirit which

delights to take up against heroes and saints every tale, true or false, which hints at vice or weakness, and pronounces, with a leer of satisfaction, that they were only "human," as if *human* meant vicious and as if the soul of man were not a truer part of his nature than the clay. Trevelyan believes in Washington as Trumbull and Jay believed in him, as Lafayette and Steuben believed in him, as Fox and Erskine believed in him, as Hamilton and Marshall believed in him, — the royal head of the imperial race.

Another very instructive chapter in this book is what the author says of the Loyalists. It is common now to maintain that in 1776 these were simply overpowered by mob law, and that if the question of separation had fairly been submitted to a vote, Independence would have lost. I would ask, if the Loyalists really were in the majority why did they not make a better fight? Why, with all their wealth, their official prestige, their social influence and the sympathy of the home government did they let themselves be maltreated, exiled, robbed? Sir George Trevelyan's account of the Royal party in the Middle States lets us into its inherent feebleness. Urged and entreated to enlist for His Majesty's service and put down the rebels, the Tories scarcely heeded the call; they showed no fight, except in a few individual cases. He has studied with great care Judge Curwen's remarkable diary, which tells us how hopelessly out of place were these Royalists who fancied their politics would make life in England agreeable to them.

But the most valuable service the author has rendered to our history is in bringing out a truth which, known from the beginning, is by too many persons ignored, — namely the relations of the Whigs, as the Revolution party in America were called, to the Whigs of England. There have been plenty of histories written, and thousands of speeches delivered, which make out that we began in 1775 to fight an entire

foreign people called the "British" — why not English? — whose king tried to subdue us; and that after three years we began to be helped by another foreign nation called the "French," whose king was our friend. Such a view of the relations of England to America was never other than absurd, but its perfect hollowness is demonstrated once for all in Sir George Trevelyan's pages.

He brings out in the clearest way that the war of 1775 was a civil war and in no sense a national war; that it was essentially a war taken up entirely against the judgment of the prime minister — who, by the way, never allowed that title to be used in his family — to please George III's view of his own rights which had been instilled into him by his mother; that the parliamentary majority which supported him was entirely venal, no real representatives of the people; and that the true Englishmen — the great Whig party — the heirs of Hampden and Russell, were convinced that the cause of American liberty was the cause of English liberty, so that if the rights of Englishmen in America were crushed, the rights of Englishmen in England would speedily follow. The leaders in this cause — Chatham and Camden and Rockingham and Richmond and Fox and Burke and Barré and Dunning — were the masters of legal and political science and eloquence of their day. Their warnings were unheeded; they were coughed and roared and voted down; sometimes their hearts failed them, and some of them relaxed their opposition, but they returned to the charge; they forced Lord North to a resignation, which as far as his own inclination went, he would have offered — nay, had offered — years before; and by their indispensable aid our independence was won.

The names of some of these champions of American rights are well known on this side of the water; yet I cannot feel that their lives have been studied here as they deserve to be. I have thought on this occasion I might properly turn from

the well-worn topics of Bunker Hill speeches and ask you to consider the services of some of those who were early and ardent friends of America. I begin with him who beyond all other Englishmen deserves our affectionate commemoration, — William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the greatest orator in our language.

That England is a nation of orators, and its language singularly adapted for public speaking, is one of the glories of our race. From the time of Queen Elizabeth if no earlier, the orators of England have swayed their countrymen by their eloquence — argumentative, sarcastic, cheering, or pathetic. But nothing that could be called a satisfactory report existed for centuries; the Houses of Parliament, which are of course a speaker's natural field, were by an absurd extension of the theory of privilege closed to the public, who were all lumped together as "strangers." Private reports of debates occasionally made their appearance, and in the reign of George II several periodicals gave what claimed to be the reports of parliamentary speeches. The most accurate of them however contained but little of the real matter. The one best known is what purported to be Pitt's reply to Sir Robert Walpole, reprinted as such within my memory; yet Dr. Johnson had said, "that speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street."

As soon as anything like accurate reporting began, it was in William Pitt's oratory that it found its true food; and poor as are even the best reports, they amply confirm the universal witness of men who heard him, that there never was and never will be such another in the English language.

His speaking never can be better described than it has been by Sir George Trevelyan in his "Life of Fox" — "a sort of inspired conversation which every man in the audience felt was addressed to himself." The first thing that strikes me if I attempt to analyze these amazing sentences is their

directness; the way in which the vital points in the discussion are seized and shot as it were to the very heart of the hearer. There is no beating round the bush, no time wasted, as there is in so much of our oratory, on general political disquisition, belonging rather to a college lecture than a debate in a senate; there are none of those gorgeous and elaborate pictures with which Burke so often adorned, and it must be said overloaded, his speeches. Illustration is used sparingly, but when used it seems to grow out of the very fibre of the cloth. The language, considered merely as English, is faultless—the production of a man who read few authors, but those the very best in command and choice of words; his great favorite was Spenser. Such speaking fastens on you and holds you; you may disagree with it, but you cannot help being closely interested.

I am also struck in reading what we have left of Pitt by the greatness of the man, which shines from every line. He was great in design, great in execution, and great in the whole spirit and temper of his public life. There is an entire absence of the pettiness, the meanness, the low intriguing selfishness of his day. He restored to English statesmanship a breadth, a depth, a height, a generosity to which it had long been a stranger.

A very slight acquaintance with the politicians who were Pitt's associates at the outset of his career will explain what I mean by greatness. They afford in their maneuvers and struggles examples of everything that is mean, corrupt, and timid,—a want of inventive spirit, a want of firm courage, and worse, a want of common honesty that is sickening. Out of this slough Pitt soared like the bright-winged beetle from the mud of the Nile. All these associates knew it; many were avowed opponents, many were jealous traitors, but everyone felt that the breed of the gods was not yet extinct. Frederic the Great, who knew men if ever a king

did, declared that England had long been in travail, but had at last given birth to a man. But better than any royal judgment was the universal conviction of the great body of the English nation. In the prime of life Pitt had won their admiring love by his energy and his courage, and when twenty years after he was a broken man, when the neglect of his counsels had lost America and wellnigh ruined England, his countrymen still had a wild hope that if Lord Chatham were recalled to the helm all would yet go right.

He early won and never lost the love of America. When he came to power the war with France was raging, and a succession of incompetent commanders had reduced the provincials to despair. Pitt at once called to his service men like Amherst and Wolfe and utterly broke the power of King Louis. The provinces were grateful, as Pittsburg and Pittsfield remain to show.

As soon as Grenville's plans for taxing the colonies took shape in the Stamp Act, Pitt at once rose to the height of the situation; he accepted and reiterated to the full the claims of the colonies that the mother country had no right to tax them, and maintained it with all the force and fire of his nature. After the act was repealed and his own ministry came into power, he had every intention of exercising a most friendly policy, but he was struck down by a mysterious disease which shut him out from an active share in the government. While he was in this state his own Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man as brilliant and bold as himself, but with far less force of character, reintroduced a system of taxation which resulted in tearing the empire apart.

When his health allowed him to return to public life, Chatham showed himself on every occasion the stanch friend of the Americans against the senseless proceedings of the ministry. In one of his latest utterances he rose to the height of prophecy. Speaking of the acts to enforce which

George III had gone to war, "You will repeal these acts," he said; "I know you will repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed." And repealed they were — too late by at least two years.

One striking proof he gave of his hatred of the war. His eldest son was in the army, and fond of his profession. His regiment was ordered to America, but Chatham refused to let him go; nor did the king's government dare to complain. Think of the contrast presented by this action to the course of Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay, who let their sons serve and die in a war which they had denounced as iniquitous. To be sure, it was really doing the ministry service to keep Viscount Pitt out of the army, as in all the many posts, civil and military, that he subsequently held he proved himself utterly incompetent for any.

But Chatham could not bring himself to acknowledge our independence. He would repeal every offensive act, recall the foreign mercenaries, adopt any conceivable plan to keep the colonies in the empire on terms of mutual protection and allegiance; but he could not bear the thought of breaking up that empire which he had helped to make so great. His last speech in the House of Lords was on this theme, and he fell fainting and just not dying in the attempt to repeat it.

Chatham's oratorical powers, apart from the matter of his speeches, were of the very first rank. In voice, in manner, in gesture, he overtopped and swept away all rivals. Even in his later day, when much of his speaking was positively incoherent both in substance and delivery, he would suddenly rise to heights inaccessible to any other except Demosthenes. Some of these later speeches never ought to pass from the minds of men in any nation who believe in liberty and truth. I extract a passage, perhaps not the most eloquent, but very definite on our side:

“What foundation have we for our claims over America? What is our right to persist in such cruel and vindictive measures against the loyal, respectable people? They say you have no right to tax them without their consent. They say truly. Representation and taxation go together; they are inseparable. Yet there is scarcely a man in our streets, though so poor as scarcely to be able to get his daily bread, but thinks he is the legislator of America! In the last Parliament, all was anger — all was rage. *Sine clade victoria* was the cry! The Americans were abused, misrepresented, and traduced, in the most atrocious manner, in order to give a color to, and urge on the most precipitate, unjust, cruel, and vindictive measures that ever disgraced a nation. But how have this respectable people behaved under all their grievances? With unexampled patience, with unparalleled wisdom!

“I know, Sir, that no one will avow that he advised, or that he was the author of these measures; every one shrinks from the charge. But somebody has advised His Majesty to these measures; and if His Majesty continues to hear such evil counsellors, His Majesty will be undone. He may, indeed, wear his crown, but, the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing. What more shall I say? I must not say the king is betrayed; but this *I will* say, the kingdom is ruined!

“Repeal, therefore, my lords! But bare repeal will not be enough. It will not satisfy this enlightened and spirited people. What! repeal a bit of paper! repeal a bit of parchment! That alone will not do, my lords. You must go through the work; you must declare *you have no right to tax*. Then they may trust you. Then they will have some confidence in you. You must repeal their fears and resentments, and then you may hope for their love and gratitude.

“There is no time to be lost. Every moment is big with dangers. While I am speaking, the decisive blow may be struck, and millions involved in the consequence. The very first drop of blood will make a wound which years, perhaps ages, may not heal. It will be *immedicabile vulnus*; a rancorous, malignant, corroding, incurable wound!

“Sir, I would not encourage America to proceed beyond the true line. I reprobate all acts of violence. But when her inherent constitutional rights are invaded, then I own myself an American;

and, feeling myself such, shall, to the verge of my life, vindicate those rights against all men who strive to trample or oppose them!"

It was an unfortunate result of Chatham's very greatness that he had few personal adherents. He could inspire the soldiers and sailors who fought under his orders with energy and daring equal to his own. But in council he was mysterious and dictatorial, trusting few men with his confidence and seeking to enforce his views by mere assertion, without condescending to argument. This was more than could be borne by men his superiors in birth — a great thing in those days — his equals in purity and love of country, and entirely fit to be his trusted colleagues. One after another of those who had no dispute with him on public policy refused all connection with him, present or prospective; and what Macaulay says is very true, that at his death he had not half a dozen personal adherents in Parliament.

Conspicuous among those who followed his lead unhesitatingly as long as he would lead them, especially on all American questions, was Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Lord Chancellor. Any candid review of English politics must accept him as a first-rate constitutional authority. His decision against general warrants, contrary to the uniform practice of executive governments, and his assertion of the right of juries in cases of libel, which he maintained for more than forty years and forced into law at last in the teeth of the opinions of eleven of the twelve judges, are accepted as axioms. Yet strange to say his opinions against taxing the colonies are often rejected in favor of Mansfield's, which after all are a mere expansion of a dictum of Coke's. But Mansfield is the last person to be accepted as an authority on the English constitution. He was a Scotch Jacobite, imbued with the Roman theory that the prince's will has the force of law, which, very thinly

disguised under a pretence of respect for Parliament, was the true groundwork of all his politics.

“My lords, you have no right to tax America. I have searched the matter; — I repeat it, you have no right to tax America. The natural rights of man and the immutable laws of nature are all with that people. Much stress is laid upon the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, and so far as the doctrine is directed to its proper object I accede to it. But it is equally true, according to all approved writers upon government, that no man, agreeably to the principles of natural or civil liberty, can be divested of any part of his property without his consent.

“But some gentlemen tell us, seriously, that administration must reduce the Americans to obedience and submission; that is, you must make them absolute and infamous slaves, and then — what? — we will say they give them full liberty. Ay, is this the nature of man? No, my lords; I would not trust myself, American as I am, in this situation. I do not think I should, in that case, be myself for giving them their liberty. No; if they submitted to such unjust, such cruel, such degrading slavery, I should think they were made for slaves, that servility was suited to their nature and genius. I should think they would best serve this country as our slaves — that their servility would be for the benefit of Great Britain; and I should be for keeping such Cappadocians in a state of servitude, such as was suited to their constitution, and such as might redound much to our advantage.

“My lords, some noble lords talk much of resistance to acts of Parliament. King, Lords, and Commons are fine-sounding names; but, my lords, acts of Parliament have been resisted in all ages. King, Lords, and Commons may become tyrants as well as others. Tyranny in one or more is the same: it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one. Somebody once asked the great Mr. Selden in what law-book, in what records, or archives of state, you might find the law for resisting tyranny. ‘I don’t know,’ said Mr. Selden, ‘whether it is worth your while to look deeply into the books upon this matter; but I’ll tell you what is most certain, that it has always been the “custom of England” and the “custom of England” is the law of England.’

“I end, my lords, as I began: you have no right to tax America; — the natural rights of man, and the immutable laws of nature, are all with that people.”

Another friend of America, who at first on unfriendly terms with Pitt very soon became one of his most devoted followers, is Col. Isaac Barré. He was an Irishman of French descent, educated at Dublin University, but early attracted to the army, where he fought by the side of Wolfe, receiving a bullet in his cheek which gave him ever after a strange, wild look and ultimately induced blindness. From a very early period he took up the cause of the colonists and attacked the measures of Townshend and North with such intense bitterness that it became impossible for him to retain his colonelcy. He outlived almost all his associates, dying at a very advanced age in 1807. One of his speeches was heard by an American visitor to the House of Commons, and we have every reason to credit the report as transmitted:

“The honorable member has asked: — ‘And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, — will they grudge to contribute their mite?’ *They planted by your care!* — No, your oppressions planted them in America! They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say the most formidable, of any people upon the face of God’s earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, our American brethren met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

“*They nourished up by your indulgence!* — They grew by your neglect of them! As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their

liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

“They protected by your arms!” — They have nobly taken up arms in your defence! have exerted a valor, amidst their constant laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, — remember I this day told you so, — that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and being conversant in that country. The People, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has; but they are a People jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them to the last drop of their blood, if they should ever be violated.”

In the same debate on the Stamp Act, when Pitt was heard for the last time by the House of Commons, Edmund Burke spoke for the first time. I was brought up by those who talked of Burke as more than mortal, not to be criticised by common men. This worship was founded chiefly on his friendship for the colonies, which, beginning in 1764, lasted till the signing of the treaty in 1783 put them no longer in need of his help; it was also founded on his writings, which my masters regarded as offering a body of philosophical statesmanship which for style and matter was otherwise unknown to the English language. I have found the same sentiment strong in England, and we know that at the end of Burke's life, when he was broken by age and bereavement, his counsel was sought by the chiefs of the land as the

oracles of God. Having made a considerable study lately of Burke's life and works, I find it impossible to take up this tone of adulation which I heard in my youth. I do not see how anyone can question the truth of Goldsmith's line that

(He) "Born for the Universe, narrowed his mind
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

He came into Parliament by the patronage of the old Whig families — men who deserve our highest praise for their stainless personal honor, their unchanging patriotism, and their firm hold on the traditions of the liberators of England, but who were singularly sluggish in upholding the standard of their cause in its darker hours, and full of aristocratic prejudices that blinded them to some of the strongest demands of the time. From them Burke accepted the doctrine that taxation of the colonies, however impolitic and galling, was completely within the right of Parliament, or rather he refused to discuss the point; and this is the more notable because the anonymous history in the Annual Register, generally held to be written by Burke, upholds the contention of the colonists in a manner decidedly at variance with his speeches. The colonies were not disposed to find serious fault with any man who knew them as if he were a native of their soil, and acted as the agent of several of them with industry and judgment, had exposed the folly and insolence of the ministry in some of the finest orations in any language, and was indefatigable in trying to bring up to their parliamentary duties the Whig noblemen who were thinking chiefly of their hounds. The contest with America was practically at an end when the Whigs came into power; Burke showed then to what passionate and even unprincipled lengths he could go in defence of his party. It has often been held an instance of their narrow exclusiveness that Burke was never in the Cabinet, but no one reading about his perform-

ances in Parliament can doubt that he was the most indiscreet of men; he was often pulled down in debate by his best friends, and as a member of a Cabinet he would have been impossible.

His mind, capable of the deepest philosophical analysis, was the abode of prepossessions which he never sought to shake off. The government of King, Lords, and Commons, regulated much more by prescription than by actual statute, was his idol. Accordingly he entered heart and soul into the cause of the colonists, because he believed the ministers were violating the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution; he felt the wrongs of the Irish Catholics and defended their cause with earnestness of conviction equal to any of his countrymen, and a good deal more common sense; the oppression of India under Warren Hastings filled him with wrath, and he devoted his life for years to hunting down the tyrant. But when the French nation rose against the frivolous and insolent monarchy of the Old Régime, Burke would give them no sympathy. They had attacked an ancient and established government which had prescription on its side, and according to Burke the revolutionists of every stripe were equally criminal, — Mirabeau and Lafayette, Danton and Carnot, Barère and Tallien; there was no good in any of them. Even to us he was cold. In one of the ingenious but passionate writings in which he poured forth his detestation of the proceedings in France, he admits that it might be conceivably necessary for a people to construct a new frame of government. At that time the Constitution of the United States had been in operation for some years, with Washington as President, and had commended itself to unprejudiced observers all over the world. Burke does not allude to it, but upholds as his model a frame of government now absolutely forgotten — the attempt made by the Poles, such of them as the three royal robbers would allow to keep the name, to

patch up the old Polish Constitution, the most thoroughly inefficient the world had ever seen — but old!

That Burke was a wise and good man it would be mere paradox to question. But his learning was so vast, and his imagination so vivid, that they more than once controlled not only his judgment but his conscience, and led him to speech and action incapable of defense. His very eloquence, in which he ranks with the greatest orators of all ages, suffered repeatedly from the same causes. In his eagerness to pour out the stores of his learning and follow the soarings of his fancy, he loses sight of all proportion, not merely as affecting his hearers, but as a pure question of style. Several of his most brilliant passages, which cling to the memory as marvels of language, might be struck out of the pages where they occur as positively obscuring the line of thought, and what is worse, chilling the very emotions they are intended to quicken. Hence we are not surprised to learn that some of his speeches, which seem matchless as we read them, actually drove hearers from the House, delivered as they were in an untunable voice, and accompanied by ungraceful gestures. Again we think of Goldsmith

“Our good Edmund, whose genius was such
We scarcely can praise it or blame it too much.”

Burke, like all natives of Ireland, was a close reader of Swift, and we can see the Dean's influence in its worst form when the orator stains his argument by illustrations, which however to the point are nothing but revolting in style. I cannot avoid remembering a very striking comment on one of Burke's most celebrated bursts of passion from one of our own speakers, of whose character whether public or private I am no admirer, but who certainly touched Burke's weakness admirably. “The age of chivalry is gone. The age of humanity has come. The horse, whose importance above human gave the name to that period of gallantry and war, yields his place to Man.”

Whereas very few of his associates cared about the form in which their oratory reached the public, Burke selected a limited number of his many speeches and published them carefully revised, so that we read him at his best. That he deserves the gratitude and affection of Americans to the end of time is undoubted, but that his headstrong nature led himself and his countrymen into sad excesses of speech and action is equally indisputable.

“You have an act of Parliament stating that it is expedient to raise a revenue in America. Sir, leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. Be content to bind the Americans by laws of trade; you have always done that. Let this be your reason now for binding their trade. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only they may be discussed with safety.

“But if, intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those who govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery.

“Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability; let the best of them get up, and tell me what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them. When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery; — that it is *legal* slavery will be no compensation either to his feelings or his understanding!”

Among the staunchest friends of the colonies in England never should be forgotten two noble kinsmen, Henry Seymour Conway and Horace Walpole. Conway as a soldier was the bravest of the brave, and rose to the highest rank in the army. As a statesman he is far from deserving the encomiums lavished on him by Burke and Walpole; but he did good service on the side of liberty and twice was selected to make motions which proved of decisive value to America—that for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and that for the overthrow of Lord North. Horace Walpole is thought of chiefly as an amusing and rather frivolous letter-writer; but he never fails to express his utter disgust with the measures directed against the colonies, and his firm conviction that the rights of America were bound up with those of England.

Of all the services rendered by Burke to his party, none was more auspicious than his bringing over to it Charles James Fox. This young man, brought by his unnatural precocity into Parliament and into office when scarcely out of boyhood, had been trained in the worst possible school of politics and had co-operated with Lord North in every attack on the liberties of England. When finally turned out in 1774 he had become the devoted admirer of Burke, and the American question coming up, which had lain dormant for some years, Fox followed his friend's lead in opposing every act of tyranny and arraying himself unreservedly on the side of the colonies. They could not have had a more valuable friend. He was a constant speaker, not only in Parliament, but at public meetings, which began their career of usefulness at this time. His speeches may be pronounced inferior to Burke's in literary finish and to Chatham's in loftiness of aim, but there was this about them which rendered them superior to almost all other Parliamentary oratory except Chatham's—one could not help listening to them and enjoying them. There was the most cogent reasoning in their

unadorned sentences, shot through with a fire that seemed to kindle and consume all within its reach. More perhaps than with any other speaker who ever lived, there glowed the qualities which we call heart; Fox was not merely the convinced foe of oppression, he was the sympathizing friend of the oppressed. He was free from the languor which led the Whig magnates solemnly to announce their principles and then retire to their country seats. He found time in a life running over with occupations and amusements of every kind — some of which did neither his purse nor his morals any good — to be instant at all seasons, enforcing the lessons of humanity and liberty. A variety of causes, among which his own rashness was prominent, held him in hopeless opposition for the greater part of his life; but through years of political repression he kept the fidelity of a little band of friends who loved him as statesmen are rarely loved. Fox died in the year 1806, having signalized his brief term of office by destroying the African slave trade, against which he had fought for twenty years.

“You have now two wars before you, of which you must choose one, for both you cannot support. The war against America is against your own countrymen — you have stopped me from saying against your fellow-subjects; that against France is against your inveterate enemy and rival. Every blow you strike in America is against yourselves, it is against all idea of reconciliation, and against your own interest, though you should be able, as you never will be, to force them to submit. Every stroke against France is of advantage to you: America must be conquered in France; France can never be conquered in America.

“The war of France is a war of interest; it was her interest which first induced her to engage in it, and it is by that interest that she will measure its continuance. Turn your face at once against her; attack her wherever she is exposed; crush her commerce wherever you can; make her feel heavy and immediate distress throughout the nation: the people will soon cry out to their government.

“The war of the Americans is a war of passion. It is of such a nature as to be supported by the most powerful virtues, love of liberty and of their country; and, at the same time, by those passions in the human heart which give courage, strength, and perseverance to man, the spirit of revenge for the injuries you have done them, of retaliation for the hardships you have inflicted on them, and of opposition to the unjust powers you have exercised over them. Everything combined to animate them to this war, and such a war is without end; for whatever obstinacy enthusiasm ever inspired man with you will now find in America. No matter what gives birth to that enthusiasm, whether the name of religion or of liberty, the effects are the same; it inspires a spirit which is unconquerable, and solicitous to undergo difficulty, danger and hardship: and as long as there is a man in America, a being formed such as we are, you will have him present himself against you in the field.”

The list of America's champions, which begins with the elder William Pitt in 1765, ends with his son in 1783. This wonderful man, born when his father was fifty years old and at the height of his glory, accompanied him nineteen years later to the House of Lords on that sad day when he fell pleading against the dissolution of the empire. He was brought into Parliament when only just of age, and at once took rank among its first orators, denouncing what was left of the American war with all his father's earnestness. The turn of the political wheel soon carried him into office, and before long to the head of the ministry, though only twenty-four. He held this position till 1801, when George III's bigotry as to the Irish Catholics forced his resignation. In three years he was again called to power, but died, utterly broken in constitution, in January 1806, eight months before his rival Fox.

It was only at the beginning of his career that he had occasion to show himself a friend to America, though his administration was on the whole in harmony with Washington's. He was the proudest of men, decorating success

and failure alike with a haughty eloquence against which few dared to stand. With every instinct in favor of liberty, he was forced by public opinion, or rather by public terror, as expressed by Burke, into a war to the death with the Revolutionists in France. Like his father he was of unassailable purity, but like him he admitted very few to his confidence, and indeed lost his life because he would be all himself.

“Gentlemen have passed the highest eulogiums on the American war. Its justice has been defended in the most fervent manner. A noble Lord, in the heat of his zeal, has called it a holy war. For my part, although the honorable gentleman who made this motion, and some other gentlemen, have been, more than once, in the course of the debate, severely reprehended for calling it a wicked and accursed war, I am persuaded, and would affirm, that it was a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war! It was conceived in injustice; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation;—in truth, everything which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it. It was pregnant with misery of every kind.

“The mischief, however, recoiled on the unhappy people of this country, who were made the instruments by which the wicked purposes of the authors of the war were effected. The nation was drained of its best blood, and of its vital resources of men and money. The expense of the war was enormous,—much beyond any former experience. And yet, what has the British nation received in return? Nothing but a series of ineffective victories or severe defeats;—victories celebrated only by a temporary triumph over our brethren, whom we would trample down and destroy; victories which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valued relatives, slain in the impious cause of enforcing unconditional submission, or with narratives of the glorious exertions of men struggling in the holy cause of liberty, though struggling in the absence of all the facilities and advantages which are in general deemed the necessary concomitants of victory and success. Where was the Englishman, who, on reading the

narratives of those bloody and well-fought contests, could refrain from lamenting the loss of so much British blood spilt in such a cause; or from weeping, on whatever side victory might be declared?"

Such were the leaders of that great army of Englishmen who were fighting for the liberties of Englishmen at home, as our ancestors were fighting for them here. How the rank and file of that army was recruited, how the people of England gradually roused themselves to a sense of the folly and wrong of the war, and at last forced the House of Commons to overthrow its partisans, has its story from year to year told by Sir George Trevelyan, in a series of details new indeed to readers on this side of the water. Like our fathers, that army and its leaders were often defeated and not seldom discouraged. Just as our militia left the camp for home by thousands, so the Whigs in the dark hour seceded from Parliament. As Warren and Montgomery fell in our early day, so Chatham fell in theirs. As we were distracted by mutinous troops and an empty treasury, so were they by the Gordon riots and the uprising of the Irish volunteers. As we had our glorious victories, so did they. Their Saratoga was North's humiliating repeal; their Yorktown the surrender of his ministry. They had against them, like us, all the force and all the corruption of government. Be as grateful as you please to Franklin and Adams, to Washington and Schuyler, to Greene and Morris, but never forget the kindred battle and the kindred triumph of the Pitts, of Camden and Barré, of Burke and Fox, who because they loved America as joint heir of the liberties of England helped her to establish them as her own.

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY MRS. MERCY
OTIS WARREN

HON. WINSLOW WARREN read to the Association an unpublished historical manuscript. "In looking over some papers in my possession," he said, "I found a poem addressed by Mercy Otis Warren, sister of James Otis, and my great grandmother, to her husband, General James Warren, which, so far as I know, has never been printed. There was a volume of her poems published, but I fail to find it there. It probably appeared at the time in some newspaper. As it is very laudatory, not of my ancestor, Mr. President, but of your kinsman, I feel that I can read it here. The manuscript is in the handwriting of Mrs. Warren's son, with erasures by her. It is addressed to the Hon. James Warren, Esq., President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Gen. James Warren was the immediate successor of Gen. Joseph Warren. The poem is as follows:

"To the Hon. James Warren, Esq., President of the Congress of Massachusetts, on the death of his friend, Major General Warren, who fell in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

"When proud Brittannia stretch'd her hostile hand,
And purple currents stained this injured land;
When despotism shook her servile chains,
And thundering cannon rattled o'er the plains;
When faithless Gage each sacred sanction broke
And wrap'd the neighboring villages in smoke;
The curling flames in mounting columns rose
And shew'd the world the rancour of our foes —
A gen'rous ardor fired each manly mind
And all the patriot in the hero shin'd;

Valor and virtue lighted from the skies
And let down freedom as the glorious prize,
While Justice held the golden scales on high,
And fierce Bellona shook the trembling sky,
The steady beam in equilibrio held
Till martial worth should win it in the field.
Among the foremost ranks brave WARREN press'd,
Till his great soul rush'd from his bleeding breast.
He greatly fell, pierc'd by a thousand wounds
That seal his fame beyond time's narrow bounds.
The sword fell guilty from the miscreant hand ;
As his last sigh, breath'd blessings to this land.
Heaven, who Its gifts bestows with hand benign,
Had form'd his genius for the bold design.
Early to tread the independent field,
And plant the palm on fair Columbia's shield.
Soft were his manners, gentle and serene ;
A manly courage mark'd his modest mien ;
True friendship warm'd and gen'rous worth combined
To dignify and raise his humane mind.
Such was thy Friend, such was the man you mourn,
While blooming Laurels spring to dress his urn.
The moss grown tomb supports the deathless bays,
And Virtue's hand his monument shall raise !
Let no rash foot disturb the sacred shade,
But softly tread where your lov'd WARREN 's layd !
From the rich turf more lasting glory springs
Than crowns confer or sceptres lend to Kings !
Thus Charles's minions saw good Hampden die,
And mount from Chalgrove to his native sky.
But o'er his grave what multitudes arose,
Who fought for Freedom and subdu'd her foes ;
'So sleep the brave,' while every bosom sighs,
Yet round his tomb, ten thousand Heroes rise
Who snatch the Lance and bind the Target on,
And bid defiance to Brittannia's Throne.
They dare to die, and mark the field of Fame,
As WARREN died and leave a deathless name."

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

JUNE 1, 1907, TO JUNE 1, 1908.

BALANCE, June 1, 1907:—

Income Account	\$60.03	
General Fund	390.00	\$450.03

INITIATION FEES, from 43 new members	\$215.00
ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT	5,588.35
INTEREST, allowed on Bank Balances	27.65
NOTES PAYABLE	600.00

\$6,881.03

CASH ACCOUNT.

EXPENDITURES.

JUNE 1, 1907, TO JUNE 1, 1908.

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00	
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	720.00	
Mary A. Bruce, <i>Clerk</i>	480.00	
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	732.00	
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	250.00	
Francis H. Lincoln, <i>Treasurer</i>	100.00	\$3,182.00

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	\$317.77	
Fuel	155.00	
Police service on Sundays	41.50	
City of Boston, water rate	30.50	
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —		
in removing snow	\$82.70	
on grounds, fence, and seats	178.35	261.05
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses at Monument and Lodge	320.92	1,126.74

Plans, maps, photographs, engravings, etc., for Annual Meeting and Proceedings	205.78	
University Press, printing	1,043.99	
Secretary's office rent, one year	150.00	
Record books, postage, stationery, and clerical service	93.08	
Greenleaf & Barnes, luncheon at the Vendôme	133.50	
Advertising	5.00	1,631.35

INTEREST		59.74
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BALANCE:—

Income Account	268.44	
General Fund	612.76	881.20
		<u>\$6,881.03</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

Debits.			
The Monument	\$133,649.83		
Granite Lodge	<u>37,512.07</u>	\$171,161.90	
Suspense Account		600.00	
Cash		881.20	
			<u>\$172,643.10</u>
Credits.			
Capital		\$170,161.90	
Notes payable		1,600.00	
Income	\$268.44		
General Fund	<u>612.76</u>	881.20	
			<u>\$172,643.10</u>

FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1908.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1908, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and property of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE } *Committee.*
 GARDINER M. LANE }

BOSTON, June 15, 1908.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1907, TO JUNE 1, 1908.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Adults.

Alabama	49	Nebraska	131
Arkansas	53	Nevada	17
California	278	New Hampshire	1,182
Colorado	112	New Jersey	850
Connecticut	887	New York	3,508
Delaware	40	North Carolina	49
Florida	49	North Dakota	30
Georgia	55	Ohio	528
Idaho	28	Oklahoma	24
Illinois	843	Oregon	65
Indiana	186	Pennsylvania	1,344
Iowa	162	Rhode Island	731
Kansas	117	South Carolina	40
Kentucky	64	South Dakota	31
Louisiana	42	Tennessee	55
Maine	1,292	Texas	95
Maryland	180	Utah	84
Massachusetts	7,895	Vermont	571
Michigan	258	Virginia	56
Minnesota	199	Washington	127
Mississippi	22	West Virginia	32
Missouri	224	Wisconsin	175
Montana	18	Wyoming	16
Children			2,004

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Adults.

Alaska	10	Indian	2
Arizona	29	New Mexico	7
District of Columbia	121		
Children			10

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Adults.

Africa	10	Italy	8
Asia	1	Japan	62
Australia	10	Mexico	4
Austria	5	New Zealand	1
Canada	323	Norway and Sweden	28
Central America	12	Russia	2
China	23	Sandwich Islands	5
Cuba	20	Scotland	27
Denmark	8	South America	1
England	110	Switzerland	4
France	11	Turkey	1
Germany	23	Wales	1
India	12	West Indies	9
Ireland	16		

From the United States 24,748

From Territories of the United States 179

From Foreign Countries 737

Total 25,664

From Boston 1,963

Board of Directors

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	FRANCIS HENRY BROWN	
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1868	(<i>Secretary</i>)	1896
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES	1897
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE	1874	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL	1897
HENRY WALKER	1874	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER	1875	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1897
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH	1897
WILLIAM EVERETT	1877	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	1898
EDWARD EVERETT HALE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1881	JOHN NOBLE	1899
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS		JAMES DE NORMANDIE	1900
MARVIN	1882	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL	1900
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT	1900
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH	1885	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE	1886	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER	1902
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL	1887	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS	1902
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE	1887	FREDERICK LEWIS GAY	1902
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.	1902
JOHN LATHROP	1890	HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH	1903
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS	1891	CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD	1903
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER	1903
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893	NATHANIEL THAYER	1903
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894	CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM	1904
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1895	FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN	
ARTHUR AMORY	1895	(<i>Treasurer</i>)	1905
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON	1906
HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895	GARDINER MARTIN LANE	1906
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL	1895	CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	1907
		WALDO LINCOLN	1907
		JOHN DAVIS LONG (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1908
		ARTHUR LORD	1908
		CHARLES EDWARDS PARK	1908

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1908-1909.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, *President*,
FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, *Treasurer*,
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary*, } *Ex Officiis.*

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

JOHN LATHROP.

JOHN NOBLE.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE.

SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.

CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.

GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1886.

GROVER CLEVELAND.
OLIVER OTIS HOWARD.

1888.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.
DOUGLAS PUTNAM.
DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.

1891.

WHITELAW REID.

1893.

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.
HORACE PORTER.

1894.

ANDREW ELLICOTT KENNEDY
BENHAM.

1895.

GASTON DE SAHUNE DE LAFAYETTE.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

A.

Charles Elisha Adams.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
Charles Allen.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Francis Henry Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.
James Bourne Ayer.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Horace Sargent Bacon.

Andrew Jackson Bailey.
Ezra Henry Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
John George Barker.
Elmer Walter Barron.
Frank Trask Barron.
Samuel June Barrows.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
Willis Carroll Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Boylston Adams Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Josiah Henry Benton, Jr.
William Emery Bicknell.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel May Boardman.
Joshua Peter Bodfish.
Joel Carlton Bolan.
Charles Knowles Bolton.
John Bordman.
Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.
Henry Pickering Bowditch.

George Gardner Bradford.
 William Burroughs Bradford.
 Frank Eliot Bradish.
 Henry Willard Bragg.
 Frank Brewster.
 John Franklin Briry.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.
 Edward Brooks.
 Lawrence Brooks.
 Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Shepherd Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Gilbert Patten Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Joseph Henry Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Thomas Quincy Browne.
 Frederick Alexander Bucking-
 ham.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Alfred Monson Bullard.
 George Edwin Bullard.
 Augustus George Bullock.
 Samuel James Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 John Foster Bush.
 Charles Favour Byam.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C.

Arthur Tracy Cabot.
 Louis Cabot.
 Eliot Lincoln Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 Guy Edward Carleton.

William Dudley Carleton.
 William Edward Carleton.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 Walter Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 Charles Augustus Chase.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.
 Munroe Chickering.
 Charles Francis Choate.
 William Worcester Churchill.
 Arthur Tirrell Clark.
 David Oakes Clark.
 Robert Farley Clark.
 Arthur French Clarke.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Hermann Frederick Clarke.
 Charles Warren Clifford.
 James David Coady.
 Darius Cobb.
 Arthur Bruce Coburn.
 Charles Henry Coburn.
 Charles Russell Codman.
 Rufus Coffin.
 Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
 Charles Allerton Coolidge.
 Ernest Hall Coolidge.
 Frederic Austin Coolidge.
 George Augustin Coolidge.
 Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
 John Joseph Copp.
 Joseph John Corbett.
 Edward Jones Cox.
 George Franklin Crafts.
 Edwin Sanford Crandon.
 George Glover Crocker.

George Uriel Crocker.
 Clifford Fenton Crosby.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Stephen Moody Crosby.
 Prentiss Cummings.
 Henry Winchester Cunningham.
 John Silsbee Curtis.
 Frederic Haines Curtiss.
 Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr.
 Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

D.

James Dana.
 Richard Henry Dana.
 Allen Danforth.
 Henry William Daniell.
 Edwin Alfred Daniels.
 Charles Kimball Darling.
 George Howe Davenport.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 Horace Davis.
 John George Dearborn.
 Henry Beals Dennison.
 Joseph Waldo Denny.
 James De Normandie.
 Charles Lunt De Normandie.
 Arthur Lithgow Devens.
 Franklin Dexter.
 Gordon Dexter.
 Morton Dexter.
 Philip Dexter.
 William Sohier Dexter.
 Marquis Fayette Dickinson.
 Pitt Dillingham.
 Charles Healy Ditson.
 Horace Dodd.
 Arthur Walter Dolan.
 Charles Acton Drew.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.

Henry Dorr Dupee.
 Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.
 Henry Herbert Edes.
 Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Elisha Doane Eldredge.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 Ephraim Emerton.
 Eugene Francis Endicott.
 William Endicott.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 Harold Clarence Ernst.
 Edward Everett.
 William Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.
 William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Augustus Alanson Fales.
 John Whittemore Farwell.
 Henry Gregg Fay.
 Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.
 William Wallace Fenn.
 George Prentice Field.
 Horace Cecil Fisher.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Francis Aphorpe Foster.
 Francis Charles Foster.
 John Andrews Fox.

Walter Sylvanus Fox.
 Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Paul Revere Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Charles Emerson Fuller.
 Henry Holton Fuller.

G.

Charles Theodore Gallagher.
 Ernest Lewis Gay.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 Charles Gibson.
 Daniel Dudley Gilbert.
 Shepard Devereux Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Abner Cheney Goodell.
 Elbridge Henry Goss.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Joseph Foster Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Henry Sturgis Grew.
 William Elliot Griffis.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.
 Courtenay Guild.
 Curtis Guild.
 Curtis Guild, Jr.

H.

Edward Hale.
 Edward Everett Hale.

Richard Walden Hale.
 Robert Sever Hale.
 Edward Henry Hall.
 Franklin Austin Hall.
 Thomas Hills Hall.
 Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
 Wallace Henry Ham.
 Charles Sumner Hamlin.
 Henry Mason Harper.
 Walter Leo Harrington.
 Charles Harris.
 Samuel Tibbetts Harris.
 Thaddeus William Harris.
 Thomas Norton Hart.
 William Henry Hart.
 Henry Hastings.
 Albert Fearing Hayden.
 Henry Williamson Haynes.
 Frank Conant Hayward.
 Augustus Hemenway.
 Joseph Putnam Bradlee
 Henshaw.
 Philip Hichborn.
 Lewis Wilder Hicks.
 Henry Lee Higginson.
 Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
 James Frederic Hill.
 Joseph Warren Hill.
 William Henry Hill.
 Thomas Hills.
 Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
 Samuel Parker Hinckley.
 George Miller Hobbs.
 Joshua Bennett Holden.
 Charles Bradley Holman.
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.
 Robert Homans.
 Franklin Hopkins.
 Edward Augustus Horton.

Clement Stevens Houghton.
 Archibald Murray Howe.
 Edwin Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.
 Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Richard Clapp Humphreys.
 James Frothingham Hunnewell.
 James Melville Hunnewell.
 Francis William Hurd.
 George Frederick Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
 George Brimmer Inches.

J.

Henry Percy Jaques.
 Benjamin Joy Jeffries.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Angier Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Wolcott Howe Johnson.
 Edward Jenkins Jones.
 Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.
 Franklin Lawrence Joy.

K.

William Vail Kellen.
 John Kent.

Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Arthur Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Henry Lefavour.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.

Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Arthur Lord.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.

M.

Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Edward McLellan.
 George Sumner Mann.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 William Theophilus Rogers
 Marvin.
 Albert Mason.
 Charles Frank Mason.
 Albert Matthews.
 Nathan Matthews.
 Frederick Goddard May.
 Albert Brown Merrill.
 Thomas Minns.
 Joseph Grafton Minot.
 Samuel Jason Mixter.
 Godfrey Morse.
 John Torrey Morse, Jr.
 William Russell Morse.
 James Madison Morton.
 Marcus Morton.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Edward Augustus Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.

Frederick Strong Moseley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.
 James Gregory Mumford.

N.

Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Sereno Dwight Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 John Noble, Jr.
 Joseph Warren Noble.
 Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 Charles Eliot Norton.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

John James O'Callaghan.
 James Monroe Olmstead.
 Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 Francis Augustus Osborn.
 William Newton Osgood.
 Herbert Foster Otis.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
 Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Robert Treat Paine.
 Charles Edwards Park.
 Eben Francis Parker.
 Francis Jewett Parker.
 Frederick Wesley Parker.
 Herbert Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.

Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 Leighton Parks.
 James Parker Parmenter.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 Henry Wayland Peabody.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Frederick Pease.
 Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
 Alvah Henry Peters.
 Frederick George Pettigrove.
 Stephen Willard Phillips.
 Edward Charles Pickering.
 Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
 Phineas Pierce.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
 David Pingree.
 William Taggard Piper.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George Sanger Poole.
 Charles Hunt Porter.
 Robert Marion Pratt.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
 Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 Edward Melvin Raymond.
 Charles French Read.

Alanson Henry Reed.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 Joseph Warren Revere.
 Edward Belcher Reynolds.
 James Ford Rhodes.
 William Ball Rice.
 William Reuben Richards.
 Amor Hollingsworth Richardson.
 Gedney King Richardson.
 Parker Jones Richardson.
 Spencer Cumston Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 Thomas Oren Richardson.
 William Cumston Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.
 Peter Stillings Roberts.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 William Robinson.
 Gorham Rogers.
 James Hardy Ropes.
 George Ibison Ross.
 George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 Frank Rumrill.
 William Stanton Rumrill.
 Thomas Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 Charles William Sawyer.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 Edward Keyes Sawyer.
 George Sawyer.
 Timothy Thompson Sawyer.
 Warren Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 Joseph Henry Sears.

Thomas Oliver Selfridge.
 Henry Shaw.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 William Green Shillaber.
 Abraham Shuman.
 Howard Livingston Shurtleff.
 William Stearns Simmons.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Denison Rogers Slade.
 Charles Card Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith.
 Franklin Webster Smith.
 Frank Langdon Smith.
 Jeremiah Smith.
 Mark Edward Smith.
 Sidney Leroy Smith.
 Charles Armstrong Snow.
 Robert Alexander Southworth.
 Arthur John Clark Sowdon.
 Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Roderick Stebbins.
 Benjamin Franklin Stevens.
 Horace Holley Stevens.
 Solon Whithed Stevens.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Augustus Whittemore Stover.
 Willis Whittemore Stover.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 William Willard Swan.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.
 Lindsay Swift.

T.

Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.
 Ezra Ripley Thayer.
 John Eliot Thayer.
 Nathaniel Thayer.
 William Roscoe Thayer.
 Washington Butcher Thomas.
 John Thompson.
 Albert Thorndike.
 John Larkin Thorndike.
 Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
 James Brown Thornton.
 Walter Eliot Thwing.
 Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
 Amos Kendall Tilden.
 Caleb Benjamin Tillinghast.
 Frank Todd.
 James Pike Tolman.
 Everett Torrey.
 David Howard Tribou.
 Washington Benson Trull.
 George Fox Tucker.
 George Frederick Tufts.
 Nathan Fitz Tufts.
 Henry Augustus Turner.
 John Franklin Turner.
 Julius Herbert Tuttle.
 Edward Royall Tyler.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.
 Frank Vose.

W.

Frederick Augustus Walker.
 Henry Walker.
 Henshaw Bates Walley.
 Eugene Wambaugh.
 Frank Edwards Warner.

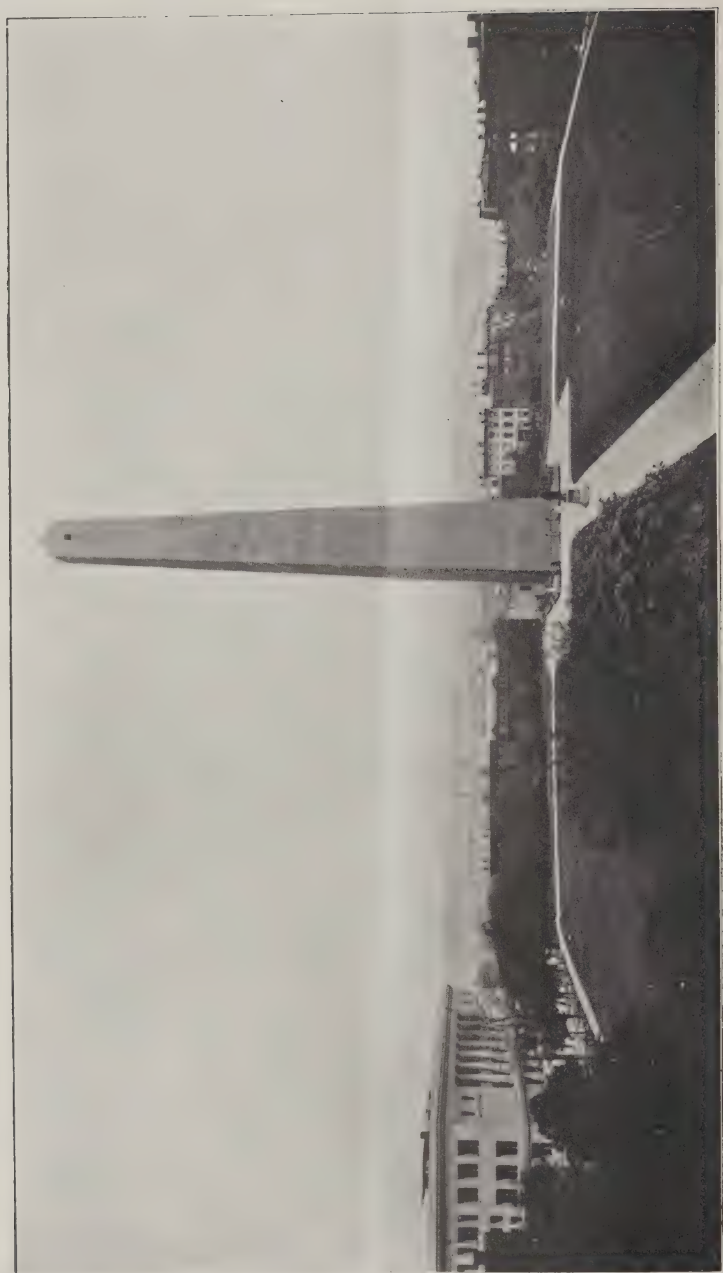
Joseph Bangs Warner.
Charles Warren.
Edward Ross Warren.
Henry Lee Jaques Warren.
John Warren.
John Collins Warren.
Joseph Warren.
Lucius Henry Warren.
Nathan Warren.
William Fairfield Warren.
Winslow Warren.
Walter Kendall Watkins.
Winslow Charles Watson.
Charles Goddard Weld.
Stephen Minot Weld.
Alfred Easton Wellington.
Frederick Augustus Wellington.
Jonas Francis Wellington.
Arthur Holbrook Wellman.
Joshua Wyman Wellman.
Barrett Wendell.
David Brainard Weston.
Robert Dickson Weston.
Thomas Weston.
Henry Wheeler.
Horace Leslie Wheeler.
Edmund March Wheelwright.
George William Wheelwright.
William Gleason Wheildon.
Bradlee Whidden.
Renton Whidden.
Stephen Hampden Whidden.
Edwin Augustus White.
James Clarke White.
Albert Turner Whiting.

William Whitman.
David Rice Whitney.
James Lyman Whitney.
Morris Fearing Whiton.
George Clark Whittmore.
Albert Rufus Whittier.
George Wigglesworth.
Arthur Walter Willard.
Levi Lincoln Willcutt.
William Lithgow Willey.
Charles Herbert Williams.
George Frederick Williams.
Henry Morland Williams.
Holden Pierce Williams.
Horace Dudley Hall Williams.
Joseph Williams.
Moses Williams.
Robert Breck Williams.
Stillman Pierce Williams.
John Boynton Wilson.
Albert Edward Winship.
William Henry Winship.
Erving Winslow.
Robert Mason Winthrop.
Roger Wolcott.
Samuel Huntington Wolcott.
William Prescott Wolcott.
George Gregerson Wolkins.
Stephen Foster Woodman.
Henry Ernest Woods.
Henry Frank Woods.
Frank Ernest Woodward.
Frank Vernon Wright.
George Wellman Wright.

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BU
1909

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1909

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1909



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1909



BOSTON

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION

MDCCCIX

University Press :
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

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1930

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PROCEEDINGS.

BOSTON, June 17, 1909.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the ASSOCIATION was held this day at 10 o'clock at the Hotel Vendôme in Boston.

The President, Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, occupied the Chair.

Prayer was offered by Reverend JAMES DENORMANDIE, D. D., of the First Religious Society in Roxbury.

The call for the meeting and the Records of the last Annual Meeting were read.

The President delivered his Annual Address, on "The Historical Exhibit in the Monument Lodge."

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, Esquire, made an address on "Early Experiments in Paper Money in America."

Reverend PETER HARE GOLDSMITH, D. D., of the First Congregational Society in Salem, addressed the Association on "Some Aspects of the Revolutionary Movement in the Carolinas."

Colonel HORACE N. FISHER made a communication concerning a collection of papers belonging to the

estate of General Artemas Ward — now in the possession of his granddaughter, Miss Harriet Ward of Shrewsbury, and his grandson, Artemas Ward, Esquire, of New York — and including four valuable letters from General George Washington, which have never been published. The letters have particular bearing on the Siege of Boston and the possession of Dorchester Heights; copies were given by Colonel Fisher for the use of the Association.

The Treasurer, FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, Esquire, presented his Annual Report, which, with that of the Auditors, was approved.

It was voted that the Addresses made at the meeting, with the communication of Colonel Fisher, be referred to the Standing Committee for publication in its discretion.

The Association then elected as Resident Members the persons recommended to it by the Standing Committee.

MESSRS. CHARLES M. GREEN, HENRY E. WOODS, and HENRY H. EDES were appointed by the Chair a Nominating Committee and, on their report, the Officers named on page 11 were duly elected by ballot.

On motion of Honorable WINSLOW WARREN the thanks of the Association were voted to those who had addressed it.

ERVING WINSLOW, Esquire, offered the following motion.

Voted, That a Committee of seven be appointed by the President to consider the subject of bringing about

a more dignified and harmonious character in the buildings which surround Monument Square, and to secure the coöperation of the Committee of the 1915 movement for such action as may be found desirable and expedient to this end.

It was approved by vote.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS.

President.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN.

Vice-Presidents.

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio.*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
WINSLOW WARREN.

JOHN DAVIS LONG.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.

Treasurer.

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN.

Secretary.

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN.

Directors.

ARTHUR AMORY.
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER.
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH.
EDWARD BROOKS.
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE.
CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM.
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER.
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD.
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
WILLIAM ENDICOTT.
WILLIAM EVERETT.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS.
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.
HENRY FITCH JENKS.
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL.

MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON.
GARDINER MARTIN LANE.
JOHN LATHROP.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE.
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.
WALDO LINCOLN.
ARTHUR LORD.
THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.
FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN.
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND.
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL.
MOORFIELD STOREY.
NATHANIEL THAYER.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
HENRY WALKER.
JOSEPH WARREN.
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN.
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBIT IN THE MONUMENT LODGE

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION :

THIS is the eighty-sixth annual meeting of our organization, and it is a pleasant duty to be able to welcome the members of the Association at a time when our body continues to maintain itself in a flourishing condition, and the grounds and monuments intrusted to its care are in the best of order. During the past year there have been a few changes in their arrangement. The repairs made on the interior of the Lodge some two years ago have materially improved its condition, and it will require but a small expenditure this year to preserve it in its satisfactory state.

In a former address to this Association I called attention to the advisability of maintaining the grounds and monument in a condition that would serve as an object lesson to those who were interested in the history of the battle which they commemorate. Following out that plan, I have endeavored to remove all extraneous matter from the walls of the Lodge, replacing it with portraits and objects more distinctly illustrative of the events pertaining more or less directly to the battle of Bunker Hill.

I also called attention to the work done on other battlefields in preserving them, and I have expressed the hope that it might be possible some day to have the memory of New Hampshire men and Connecticut men as well preserved as those of our immediate neighborhood. So far, no step has

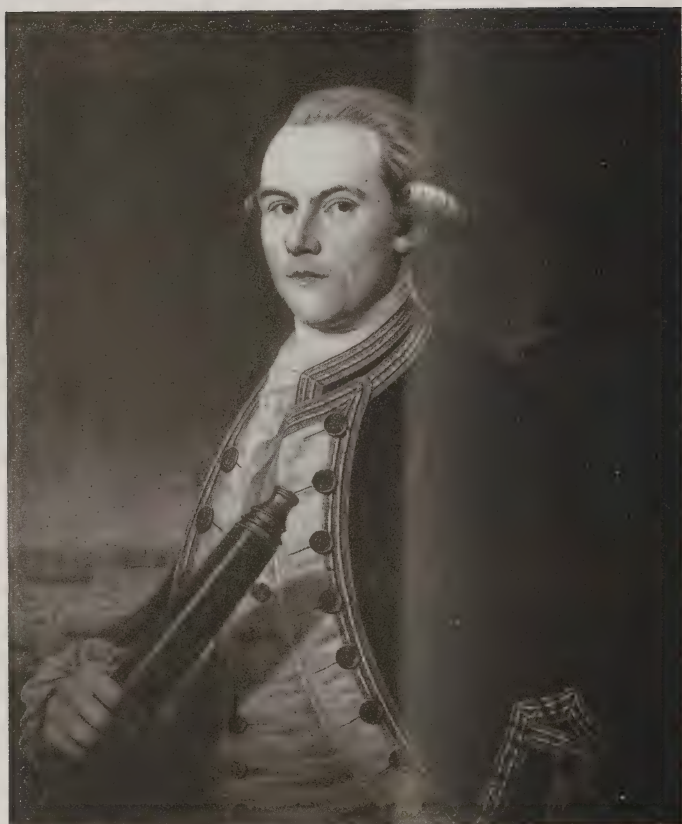
been taken by the friends of Stark and Putnam in this direction, but it is my hope that some enthusiastic student of our early struggles may be inspired to take some action, and that a monument may be placed in their honor on the field of battle.

In the interior of the Lodge I am myself at work at present, contributing further historical data.

Members of the Association will doubtless remember the valuable article delivered by Col. Horace N. Fisher at the Annual Meeting two years ago. In it he gives interesting sketches of the three major-generals who were in charge of the British forces on the day of the battle,—Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. It has since occurred to me that portraits of those commanding at the battle on the British side would be valuable additions to the collection which is now to be seen by visitors to the Monument Lodge.

While on a visit to London last September, I endeavored to trace the portraits of these three generals. Unfortunately, none were to be found in the National Portrait Gallery, but Mr. Milner, the assistant custodian, called my attention to the catalogue of photographs of the National Portrait Exhibition, which was held in the South Kensington Museum in 1867, a photograph catalogue of which is still in the possession of the Museum. I was thus able to obtain a photograph of an oil portrait of Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. (who died in 1795), which is at the present time in the possession of the Duke of Newcastle. There was also a photograph of the portrait of Sir John Burgoyne. Through the courtesy of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, American ambassador, I have been making an effort to communicate with the Duke of Newcastle, with a view of obtaining an oil copy of the portrait of Sir Henry Clinton. I hope to be able to effect this soon.

Mr. Reid has also endeavored to discover a portrait of Sir William, afterwards fifth Viscount Howe, 1729-1814. There appears to be no oil portrait in existence, but there is an



CAPTAIN JOHN LINZEE, R. N.

excellent mezzotint, and I hope to be able to obtain a copy of this soon.

There is also in existence a portrait of Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne, 1722-1792, belonging to the late field-marshal, Sir John Burgoyne. This picture was also exhibited in 1867, in the National Portrait Exhibition, a photograph of which I have also been able to obtain from the Board of Education. It does not seem, however, so desirable to obtain this picture as those of the two generals who were actually engaged on the battlefield.

Another addition which I hope soon to make to our collection is the copy of a portrait of Capt. John Linzee. You are all familiar with the admirable photograph of the miniature at present in the possession of the Linzee family. There is, however, a fairly good portrait of the captain in naval uniform, with spyglass in hand, which seems more suitable as a memorial to the commander of the "Lively," which took part in the engagement. Through the courtesy of one of his descendants I hope to be able to obtain an excellent copy of this portrait.¹

There are at present, as you know, two statues, one of Warren and one of Prescott, and also a quaint colored print of Putnam, now very rare, to represent the leaders on the American side. With the addition of those to which I have just referred, we shall be in possession of a fairly good historical exhibition of the leading participants in the battle of Bunker Hill.

It has seemed to me that such a collection would be valuable from an educational point of view, and would serve to fasten upon the memory of the thousands of visitors, both young and old, who visit the Museum yearly, the more important events which occurred on the day of the battle.

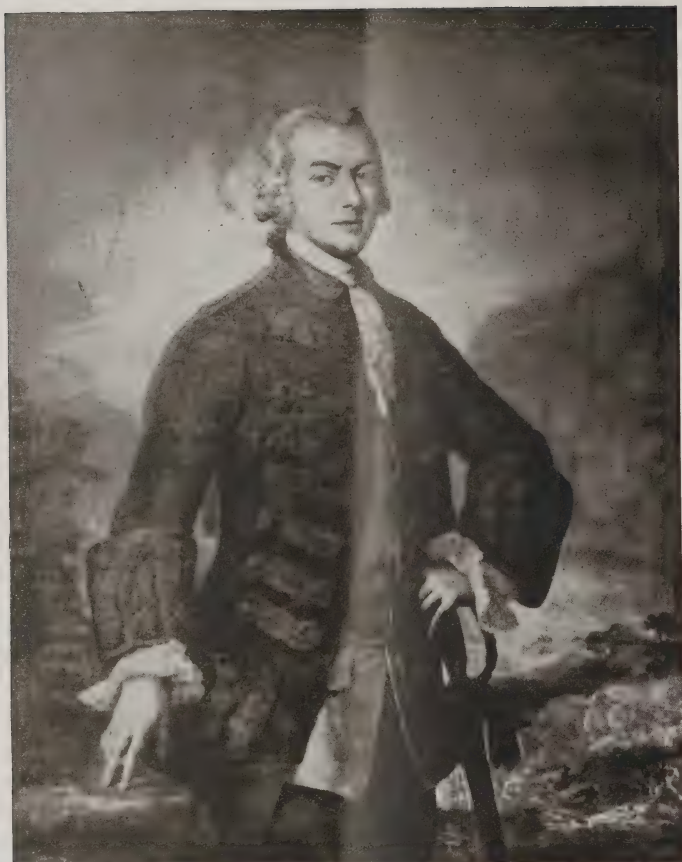
¹ The portrait has since been hung in the Lodge, the gift of C. W. Amory, a great grandson of Captain Linzee.

In submitting to you portraits of two of the three major-generals, I would like to recall to your attention a few facts concerning their respective histories.

Sir William Howe was the youngest of the three sons of the second Viscount Howe. His eldest brother, Lord Howe, was killed at Ticonderoga; Richard, the second brother, is known to us as Admiral Howe, and became the fourth Viscount Howe. General Howe served in the army from the time he was eighteen, and at the time of the battle was forty-six years of age. His first campaign was in Flanders, after which he was promoted to a captaincy in the 20th Foot, of which Wolfe was major. He afterwards served under Wolfe at Quebec, and led the forlorn hope up the Heights of Abraham, capturing the sleeping French outpost and clearing the way for Wolfe. At the close of that campaign no officer had a more brilliant record than Howe, and the king sent him to America as the senior of the three major-generals in the spring of 1775. As the senior major-general he was in command of the troops on the day of the battle. Later in the war he was succeeded in command by Sir Henry Clinton, and eventually succeeded his brother Richard as fifth Viscount Howe.

Sir Henry Clinton was but thirty-seven years of age when he came to America in 1775, and was, consequently, the youngest of the three major-generals, but was second in point of rank. After a creditable service in Flanders, he was appointed colonel of the 12th Regiment in the British Army, and in 1772 major-general, and, as we know, finally succeeded to the position of chief in command, in place of Howe. He was eventually appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where he died at the age of fifty-seven.

Major-Gen. Sir John Burgoyne entered the British army at the age of eighteen, and at the time of the battle had seen thirty-five years of military service. Consequently he was then fifty-three years of age, but nevertheless was sent to Boston as



MAJOR GENERAL HENRY CLINTON, K. B.

junior in rank to Howe and Clinton. Though not under fire at Bunker Hill by the side of these two generals, he played an important part in that battle. He was in charge of the battery on Copp's Hill, on the Boston side of the Charles River. He chafed considerably at what he regarded as his useless part in the battle. His guns, however, swept the valley of Main Street, in Charlestown Neck, and doubtless became an important factor in the struggles of the day. His subsequent history is too familiar to all to be referred to here.

I have recently had an inquiry about the last survivor of the battle of Bunker Hill. Through the courtesy of Dr. S. A. Green, I was referred to a biographical sketch of the life of Ralph Farnham, of Acton, Maine, a copy of which is at present in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The title-page bears the following inscription:—

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF RALPH FARNHAM, OF ACTON, MAINE

NOW IN THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, AND THE
SOLE SURVIVOR OF THE GLORIOUS BATTLE
OF BUNKER HILL

BY C. W. CLARENCE

Mr. Farnham's yearly pension, upon which he is dependent for support, is only \$61.66, and these books are sold for his benefit.

Boston, Sept. 20, 1860.

On the third page of this pamphlet is a photograph, beneath which it states:—

“The above is a photograph and autograph of Ralph Farnham of Acton, Maine, now in his one hundred and fifth year. He entered the American Army in May, 1778, aged 18, and was engaged in

the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and is the only survivor of that memorable struggle.

"These facts are obtained from the Commissioner of Pensions, at Washington."

Mr. Farnham was invited to visit Boston in 1860, by Gov. N. P. Banks, F. W. Lincoln, the mayor, and others. During his stay in Boston he stayed at the Revere House by invitation of Mr. Paran Stevens.

Mr. Frank Jones of Austin, Illinois, who is a descendant of Mr. Farnham, writes me that this visit to Boston was the first visit that Mr. Farnham made after the battle. When he left Boston at that time Charlestown was all farms, and he could not understand the great changes which had taken place. He was dazed and bewildered, and Mr. Jones writes: "Well, he got back home and died shortly after, it being a matter of record that the old man talked himself to death."

Mr. Jones is not only a descendant of Ralph Farnham, being a great-grandson on his mother's side, but is also a great-grandson of David Jones, on his father's side, who he states was "chum, classmate, and friend of General Joseph Warren, and was Surgeon on his Staff at Bunker Hill, and bore him off the field of battle."

Mr. Jones states that when he was visiting Ralph Farnham, with his father, in 1859, he asked him if he knew David Jones at Bunker Hill, and Mr. Farnham replied, "Yes, I was sentry at headquarters, and Jones was inside with Warren."

Dr. David Jones came from Abington, Massachusetts, and Mr. Jones is in possession of a part of the surgical instruments which he had in his pocket on the day of the battle.

It has been my hope to be able to allow this anniversary to pass by without being obliged to record a loss among our officers and Board of Directors. Until within the week which has just passed, this seemed to have been a probability.



GENERAL JOHN BURGoyNE

Suddenly, upon the same day, death came to two members of this body, possessed of names illustrative of all that is typical of our traditions and surroundings.

JOHN NOBLE died at his home in Roxbury on June 10, 1909. He was born in Dover, New Hampshire, April 14, 1829. His parents were Mark and Mary Carr (Copp) Noble. He studied in the Phillips Exeter Academy, and graduated at Harvard at the head of the class of 1850. He subsequently became submaster in the Boston Latin School, and your president can testify to the very thorough manner in which he impressed upon his pupils the importance of their work, his strict discipline, and his fine example of high character. Later he entered the Harvard Law School, and graduated in the class of 1858.

After practicing his profession in Boston he was appointed Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1875, which became his life work. He resigned from this position after nearly thirty-three years of service.

He was a member of many popular college societies, such as the Institute of 1770, the Hasty Pudding Club, the Alpha Delta Phi, and the A. D. Club, and it goes without saying that owing to his high class rank he became a member of the Phi Beta Kappa. Later in life he became a member of the Boston Bar Association, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and many others besides our own.

In 1873, Mr. Noble married Katherine Williams, daughter of William and Katherine Williams of Deerfield.

Mention should be made of the fact that for twenty years of his long professional career he actively superintended the arrangement of the Court Files of the Commonwealth, from 1630 to 1797, which are bound in twelve hundred folio volumes now in the custody of his successor in the office of Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court. This is a monumental work.

Of the many societies to which he belonged, it may be said that he took special interest in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of which he was Chairman of the Committee of Publication, member of the Council, and Corresponding Secretary for twelve years, ending with his death. The success of this society, he himself said, was very near to his heart.

Mr. Noble was also very actively interested in all matters pertaining to Harvard College, of which he was an overseer at the time of his death.

In 1902 Dartmouth gave him the Honorary Degree of LL.D.

This short record is a brief summary of the life of a man of high intelligence and classical education, who faithfully performed his duties in his own modest and retiring way. He commanded the universal respect of all who knew him. It is a record which any one may well envy, and it is with keen regret that we are called upon to record the loss to-day of such a highly esteemed member of our Board.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE died at his home in Roxbury, on June 10, 1909. He was born in Boston on April 3, 1822, and was the son of Nathan Hale, and a grandnephew of Nathan Hale of sad Revolutionary fame. His father, who was born in Westhampton in 1784, was a journalist, and it might be here mentioned was owner of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, for many years the only daily paper in Boston. In 1816 he was married to Sarah Preston, the sister of Edward Everett, and of the five children born to them the third, Edward, is the subject of this notice.

At the age of nine Edward became a Boston Latin school-boy, where he pursued his studies until entering Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1839. For two years after his graduation he was an usher at the Latin School, while studying his chosen profession under the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, and the Rev. John G. Palfrey. His first settled

appointment was in Worcester, where he became a minister of the Church of the Unity. There he remained until 1856, when he was called to the South Congregational Church of Boston. He remained with this Society as active preacher until advancing age and the demands upon his time made it necessary for him to relinquish the leadership.

A few years ago Dr. Hale was appointed chaplain of the United States Senate, and this necessitating a residence in Washington has prevented many of his friends from enjoying that social intercourse which was the privilege of the present generation in the latter part of his long career.

On October 13, 1852, he was married to Miss Emily Baldwin Perkins, a niece of the late Henry Ward Beecher. His wife and four children survive him.

It is hardly within the province of this short chronicle to more than indicate the great amount of literary work which Dr. Hale accomplished, but in the long list of titles one cannot refrain from mentioning that classic, — "The Man without a Country," which is known wherever the English tongue is spoken. It was his book and title, "Ten Times One Is Ten," that led to the establishment of the Lend-a-Hand Society; and the clubs which are an offshoot of this parent organization are scattered throughout the United States, with branches in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Islands of the Pacific.

Dr. Hale was honored by the degree of A.M. and S.T.D. from his own university; by the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth in 1901, and from Williams in 1904.

He had served his time as an overseer of Harvard, and for some time held the presidency of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

This brief statement of data associated with Dr. Hale's life covers a period extending well into a fifth score of years, and yet there is no record, as is but too often the case, in such prolonged life, of a period of retirement from the usual activities of a busy man. Dr. Hale was as much a part of the daily life of this nation up to two weeks before his death, when he made his last public appearance, as any of the great citizens with whose names every schoolboy is familiar; he was not only a sterling figure of American life, but the incarnation of the New England historic temperament and of the best traditions of the Puritan generations. He was the great Unitarian clergyman of his day, and has been well called the great humanitarian of an age of unrelenting intellectual activity. It was a strong optimistic temperament and contentment of mind that enabled his powerful frame and constitution to go on at full speed through a period of life conceded to but a limited number of men. He was not only a great example to his fellow citizens in his own life's work, but a great and sympathetic friend and a most active worker in the many-sided callings to which in his long lifework he had been summoned. Thus, it fell to Dr. Hale when he was appointed to office at an age when most men would feel justified in permanent retirement, that he was not content to fulfill its duties along traditional lines, but threw himself wholly into his new work with the enthusiasm of a young man, and in that way filled a niche that no other senate chaplain had ever before attempted. It would be impossible here to attempt a critical review of his many contributions to literature.

A critical study of such a life will in due time be made on a scale worthy of his great personality and achievements.

It had been my hope during the past year to bring Dr. Hale once more before you. Feeling that his long and distinguished life would not be prolonged many years more, I urged him to

come to one more of our meetings, that we might not only see him amongst us once again, but hear some of the many interesting traditions which he always delighted to tell. In answer to my last appeal I have before me a letter dated June 1, 1909, which reads as follows:

“DEAR MR. WARREN, —I do not believe I can come to the meeting at all. If I can I will send you a short paper on laying the cornerstone in 1825. The first thing that I really recollect in life is my sight of the feathers of the Rifle Rangers on the 17th of June, 1825, when my mother lifted me a boy of two years and three months, sick with scarlet fever, to see Lafayette go by. I have no recollection of Lafayette, but I do remember the feathers of the Rifle Rangers.

Truly yours,

E. E. HALE.”

The privilege was not accorded to us to meet him here to-day. The message which he might have brought with him has remained unspoken; we must endeavor to call up in our minds what that might possibly have been. If he had had the choice might he not have preferred to have me say to you, —

“Look up and not down,
Look forward and not back,
Look out and not in,
And lend a hand.”

ADDRESS
OF
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, ESQUIRE

EARLY EXPERIMENTS IN PAPER MONEY IN AMERICA

BY

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

THE silent sermon preached to the people of this Commonwealth by the shaft entrusted to our care, has for its text, not only the events which happened on the 17th of June, 1775, but the preliminary experiences which led up to these events and caused the formation of opinions which made them possible. We are familiar with the indignation aroused by the attempts to impose direct taxes upon the Colonies, but the page of history which chronicles the financial experiences of the province during the eighteenth century is not so well known. Of the parliamentary legislation connected with one of these experiences, the Land Bank of 1740, John Adams said, "The act to destroy the land bank scheme raised a greater ferment in the province than the Stamp Act did." What impelled these men to battle on the 17th of June, 1775, is as well worthy of our consideration as what they did on that day, and the belief that the story of the Land Bank was closely enough connected with the indignation which led to hostilities to entitle it to our consideration, led me to submit a brief description of that affair to the society a few years since. To-day I ask your attention to an account of the birth in America of the ideas embodied in the Land Bank scheme. The two are directly associated and the line of connection can be easily traced. It may help us to understand the energy

and the enterprise of our ancestors and to appreciate their resistance to domination.

The universality of the use of paper money throughout the civilized world and the extraordinary power of credit in its various forms are so familiar with us that we seldom give thought to the fact that the basis upon which our financial affairs stand to-day has underlying it only about two centuries of experience, in the development of which the early settlers of Boston may claim to have been pioneers. I do not mean to assert that their financial experiments had weight in European circles, but simply to call attention to the fact that the emissions of bills of public credit in Massachusetts, in 1690, anticipated by several years the first attempts made in England in the use of paper money. Furthermore, I should say, notwithstanding the statements made by many writers as to the prior emission of bank bills by certain Continental Banks, such as the Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of Venice, that until some of the bills emitted by these banks can be produced, it is a fair presumption that the so-called paper of these banks was in reality merely the transfers of the bank credit given their depositors. If this be so, then the historical value which one would assign to the step then taken by our forefathers would be very great, even though their actions may have attracted but little attention at the moment.

The first organized effort to furnish a substitute for coined money in this country occurred in the fall of 1681, in the little town of Boston. The population of the place did not then exceed six or seven hundred inhabitants. The commercial requirements of the business of the local merchants were commensurate with the size of the place, but small and insignificant as they were, there was not money enough for the current needs of the community.

From the outset the English had discouraged the export of sterling coin. The balance of trade being against the New

England Colonies, the colonists were compelled to make use of any silver that they could get. In the main their wants were supplied by Spanish coins, brought into this country through the fisheries. The degraded condition of these coins was such that although they might and did achieve some denominational circulation in small transactions, they could only be made use of at their bullion value in affairs of consequence, and were, of course, only available on this basis for settlements with English creditors. Already efforts had been made to retain here some part at least of these coins by minting them into a currency, bearing the titles of pounds, shillings, and pence, the shillings of which contained only ninepence worth of silver; but the coinage of the Boston mint, although it could not circulate in England, had just as much bullion value as the same silver had when in the form of Spanish coins, and the effort of the colonists to retain the silver here by this means was frustrated through its availability in the adjustment of English debts.

All through the last half of the seventeenth century the English were restless under the restraints imposed upon their trade and commerce by the lack of adequate financial facilities, and many pamphlets were published throwing out remedial suggestions. Most of these propositions were purely academic, there being, in fact, at that time no professional bankers in England. The underlying idea that prevailed in some of them was that the coin of the realm might be gathered into a bank of deposit which should furnish to its depositors bank credit stated in terms of standard coin. Adjustments of accounts could then be made between merchants through the agency of the bank by transfers of bank credit. By this means the trouble arising from the clipping, filing, and sweating of the coin would be avoided, since the bank credit stated in standard coin alone would be made use of; the cost of transportation and the danger of theft while

en route would no longer exist; the cost and delay of counting the money would be eliminated, and all fear of being deceived by counterfeits would be suppressed. These ideas were undoubtedly based upon a knowledge of what was being done by the Banks of Amsterdam and Venice, which were performing in their respective communities a service somewhat analogous to that described above.

In this form of a proposed bank the credit furnished the customer was based upon coin deposits. Still other propositions were made in which credit was to be furnished without making use of coined money at all. It was argued that there was no need for silver or gold. Lands and merchandise were more valuable and more available than precious metals. Moreover, the former could not be exported like silver and gold. A currency, therefore, based upon the security of lands would be even better than the precious metals themselves, and use might also be made of merchandise as security for credit, if proper restraints and protection were thrown around such transactions. Still others conceived of the possibility of making use of individual credit by means of bills or notes of some sort, as an auxiliary or as a substitute for the coin then in circulation.

This discussion of propositions for the establishment of banks which should substitute bills of credit for coin found listeners on both sides of the Atlantic, and copies of some of the pamphlets then published in England can be traced to this country, while occasional references to the topic which may be found in the correspondence of the period that has come down to us show that there were some here who took an active interest in financial speculation of this sort, even though the subject was complicated and the treatment obscure.

Among those in New England who thought and wrote concerning money and credit was John Woodbridge, a restless man whose career carried him now to the one side of the

Atlantic, now to the other, and whose fortunes, when he was on this side of the ocean, were identified with the little village of Newbury. Here for a few years he filled the pulpit, and at different periods in those portions of his life which were passed on our shores, he represented Newbury in the general court as member of the house or as assistant.

One of the most imposing of the various publications of this period treating of financial topics was a folio volume published in London in 1650 entitled the "Key of Wealth," in which William Potter set forth his views upon bank credit and its availability as the basis of a paper currency the emission of which would in his judgment increase trade, reduce interest, and remedy many of the evils under which England was then suffering from the inadequacy of amount and the degraded condition of its metallic currency. Potter was a personal friend of Woodbridge and the two met and talked over the subject in London. The principles inculcated in the "Key of Wealth" then took deep root in the mind of Woodbridge so that when he came back to Newbury and saw the sufferings of business men in the little village for lack of an adequate medium of trade, it at once occurred to him that here was a chance to test Potter's theories in a small way.

Certain preliminary experiments instituted by him were made in 1671, an account of what had been done was apparently printed in 1674, and at some period during the progress of these events a scheme for a bank of credit was filed by him with the council of Massachusetts Bay. Following all this came an actual experiment at banking made in Boston in 1681 and 1682, which has left its traces upon our registries of deeds.

Of all this preliminary work, including even the experiment in banking in 1681 and 1682, nothing whatever was known until Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in the fall of the year 1884, made it the subject of a communication to the American

Antiquarian Society. Trumbull found in the Watkinson Library at Hartford, Connecticut, an eight-page publication, the leaves of which measure $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches, entitled "Severals relating to the Fund." This title may be paraphrased into "Certain facts in relation to a bank recently established in Boston and called 'The Fund in Boston in New England.'" Mr. Trumbull identified Woodbridge as its author, and by rescuing this unique publication from the oblivion of its repose upon the shelves of the Watkinson Library furnished us with the details of what was, historically, an experiment of very great importance. Had it been made in London it must have attracted attention. Made in Boston, its financial importance was insignificant, and except for the preservation of this copy of "Severals relating to the Fund," it might never have been appreciated or even understood. It is true that the mortgages on record in our registries of deeds might have suggested what the Fund was, but without some key to their meaning, they would have been difficult to interpret.

This eight-page pamphlet contains an account of the preliminary work to which I have just referred and winds up with a few of the rules of the proposed bank, the eighth and last page having at its bottom a catchword for the next page. This circumstance naturally led Mr. Trumbull to the conclusion that "Severals relating to the Fund" was a part of a larger pamphlet, of which only the first eight pages had been preserved, but it seems to me quite probable that in this copy we have all that was then given the public. The writer practically says that while engaged upon the preparation of a pamphlet describing the Fund he was obliged to interrupt the order of his material, in order (to use his own words) "to give an account of the publishing this undertaking sooner than intended." He alludes to some of the matter which he was obliged to "pass over to the 2d Sheet, page 9," as he terms it, from which it is evident that he still contemplated

the further prosecution of his work at an early date in the future. Why this interruption and why this premature publication becomes evident when we take the dates connected with these events into account. We are helped in forming an opinion upon this point by the publication of the twelfth volume of the Suffolk Deeds, which at the time that Mr. Trumbull wrote had not appeared. In this volume we find mortgages running to the trustees of the Fund, and one running to the same parties is to be found in the records of the Middlesex registry. The transactions represented by these various instruments were insignificant in amount. The importance of their discovery consists in the fact that they demonstrate that the organization of the Fund was not only fully affected, but that the company actually transacted business. It is quite likely that the loans upon personal property, of which we have no record, were larger by far than those secured by mortgages of real estate, but whether that be so or not, we have here evidence that the Fund was at work in Boston in 1682 supplying credit to those who would comply with its rules. The dates of these mortgages show that the Fund was started in the fall of 1681, and the publication of Woodbridge's work "sooner than intended" would indicate that a partial success justified an appeal to the public through a prospectus, to furnish which the first part of Woodbridge's proposed pamphlet was launched.

Potter's notion apparently was that individual credits might be established in some central institution, which credits should circulate in some form, as a relief for the scarcity of money. This theory was evidently based upon the experience of the Bank of Amsterdam. It was well understood at that time that credits of individuals in that bank could be purchased upon the Dam at Amsterdam, and quotations of what was termed bank credit were easily obtainable. Woodbridge evidently worked along the same lines as those suggested by Potter, and made

provision for the emission by the Fund of what were termed change-bills.

These apparently were emitted to depositors in the Fund and were practically certificates of deposit which could be transferred in lots to a single acceptor of credit, or could be used with a number of persons whose aggregate claims did not exceed the amount of the change-bill. In this latter case the treatment of the change-bill much resembles what takes place to-day when we settle an account through the agency of a letter of credit. The person who accepted the Fund credit simply endorsed on the change-bill the amount thus accepted, the transfer of which to his own name was still to be effected before he in turn could use it himself. The credit value of the change-bill was reduced of course with each endorsement thus made.

Fund credit could also be passed from one person to another either at the counter of the bank or by means of what was termed a pass-bill, which was in its nature an order to transfer so much credit from one account to another.

All this obviously does not carry with it a conception of a denominational currency which should serve as a substitute for coin. It merely indicates that the idea had been conceived of the avoidance of the actual use of money in daily business transactions in precisely the same manner that we to-day settle our bills by checks without the use of money. Beyond this conception Woodbridge did not get, nor is there anything in the rules or in the text of "Severals relating to the Fund" that would indicate that the writer had fully conceived of the idea of a denominational currency. There is, however, a hint which shows that if he had not entirely comprehended this possibility he was at least in a fair way to do so. The rules say "If the Drawer desire a *Change-bill for Pocket-Expence, Then thus, Charge my accompt, fol. Debtor, five pounds for 2 Change-bill. now received; Number, —*

*Fund-credit * * ** " In this there is an evident idea of so framing the change-bills that they would serve as pocket money, and this in practice would unquestionably have developed a denominational currency.

The twelfth volume of the Suffolk Deeds revealed six mortgages running to the Fund and a search in the Middlesex registry disclosed one more. They covered in the dates of their execution the period from September 14, 1681, to February 22, 1683, new style. Three of the Suffolk mortgages ran to Hezekiah Usher and John Walley, Trustees, and three to Hezekiah Usher and Adam Winthrop, Trustees. The Middlesex mortgage ran to Usher and Winthrop. The latest date which indicates life in the Fund is a discharge of a mortgage on the sixteenth of April, 1685.

Immediately following this experiment came the organization in Boston of a bank of credit in 1686, under the leadership of Captain John Blackwell. Blackwell was a bird of passage. He had been a treasurer in Cromwell's army, a member of Parliament, and had married a daughter of General Lambert. His connection with the Commonwealth in England made him particularly obnoxious to Edward Randolph, and his position there, together with his intimacy with the leaders of the Puritan party, was perhaps the foundation of his influence with the prominent men of Boston. At any rate he was able to secure the co-operation of the council of the government then in power in his enterprise, and the express approval by the council of his plan for the erection of a bank. The names of many of the first Boston citizens appear among the list of proposed officers of the Bank and there is evidence that the affair proceeded even to the preparation of plates for the emission of notes or bills of some sort. There can be no doubt that the projectors of this scheme had in view the supplementing of the coin in circulation with bank bills. It would seem, however, from language used in their documents,

that it was not intended to emit bills of a lower denomination than twenty shillings. With the limitation that notes or bills of a lower denomination than twenty shillings were not contemplated, we can safely assert that bills of credit of a denominational character were conceived of in Boston as early as 1686, for circulation in this colony as currency. Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686, and for some reason or other the Blackwell bank was abandoned soon after his arrival. Consequently no specimens of the bills, struck off from the plates then prepared, have been preserved. This is all the more unfortunate in that it would be extremely interesting to know what the phraseology of these bills was.

Meantime certain events had taken place in Canada which compel consideration of the claims of Quebec, as against those of Boston, for the birthplace of paper money on this continent. In September, 1685, Jacques De Meules, the Intendant at Quebec, wrote to the Minister at Paris a description of the means taken by him to bridge over a gap of time during which he was without remittances from home. He had exhausted all of his own means, had borrowed all that he could from his friends, and still the delay in the arrival of funds left him in a position of peril. All that he had contributed and all that he had borrowed had been swallowed up by current expenses, notwithstanding which the maturing pay of his men demanded from him some effort to meet their claims, if he would keep them quiet. Under these circumstances it occurred to him that he might take a pack of playing cards, cut the cards in quarters, mark each piece with a value, and give these pieces to his men as representative of the coin which he did not possess. In doing this, he gave the assurance that the cards would be redeemed upon arrival of funds. "I send you three kinds," he says, in his letter to the Minister, "one for four francs, one for forty sous, and the

third for fifteen sous, because with these three kinds I could just meet their pay for one month." To make sure that these cards would be acceptable, the Intendant issued an order to the habitants of Quebec to receive them in trade for the value marked upon them. This order was obeyed. The card money circulated successfully and was in due time followed by other card money more formal in character. In the particular instance of Meules's original experiment it is evident that a denominational currency had not been evolved. Only certain sums adapted for particular purposes were stated on the cards, and their circulation was only contemplated as an emergent measure to cover the delay in the arrival of remittances. The success, however, of the scheme disclosed the possibilities of "card money," and this form of paper money was adopted by the French and adhered to for many years, with the same consequences as those which followed the unrestrained emission of bills of public credit in our colonies at a later date.

We have in the two instances referred to in Boston two organizations, the purpose of which was to relieve the public from the evils resulting from a scarcity of the circulating medium. The older of the two was founded nearly thirteen years before the Bank of England was incorporated. The second anticipated that institution by eight years. The first of these did not contemplate the emission by the bank of a denominational currency, but sought to relieve the situation by making use of individual credits, both at the bank by transfers of accounts, and elsewhere through change-bills and pass-bills. The second actually had plates prepared for printing bills of twenty shillings and upwards, but never made use of them. Such had been the experience of the Boston public and such was the condition of their knowledge as to the possible use of paper money as a substitute for coin, when in 1690 the colony was called upon to face the same

situation of affairs as that which Meules had encountered five years before at Quebec, that is to say, a clamorous body of soldiers and sailors, to whom was due several months' pay, at a time when there was but an empty treasury. Trouble, serious trouble, impended in Boston, unless some way could be found to relieve the situation.

This condition of unpreparedness seems so strange for a people who have always maintained a reputation for prudence in business matters that perhaps a word or two ought to be said in explanation of its cause before proceeding to discuss the methods adopted for relief.

In the summer of 1690 Frontenac withdrew the garrison from Quebec and proceeded to Montreal, where what little military force he had at his disposal was needed to quell an outbreak of the natives. Knowledge of this movement reached Boston and it was fully understood that if an expedition could be despatched by water, which should reach Quebec while it was still without a garrison, the place would necessarily fall into the hands of the invaders, even though their force was not large enough to institute and maintain a siege. Such an expedition was organized and despatched under Sir William Phips, thoroughly competent to perform the work proposed for it, but not powerful enough nor well enough equipped to maintain a prolonged siege of a garrisoned town. To make sure that the place would be found without defenders, it was arranged that simultaneously with the departure of the fleet from Boston, which should seize Quebec, an overland expedition should be despatched from New York, the objective of which would be Montreal. The advance of such a force would become known to Frontenac, he would remain at Montreal, Quebec would fall into the hands of Phips. Such was the plan of the expedition. Its success depended upon two things. First, that Frontenac should be kept in ignorance of the expedition against Quebec, and second, that he should

be prevented from leaving Montreal by the co-operating force from New York.

As a matter of fact, the co-operating force from New York never realized, and the long protracted delays incident to the organization of the Boston expedition gave ample time for messengers to give warning to Frontenac of what was impending early enough for him to make a hasty adjustment of his differences at Montreal, and by rapid marches reach Quebec in advance of Phips. The whole theory upon which the success of the expedition had been predicated had fallen to the ground. Moreover, it was too late in the season to undertake a siege, even if the expedition had been well enough manned and equipped for the purpose. There was but one thing for Phips to do when he found Frontenac in possession at Quebec, and the fall of the place only to be gained by assault or siege, and that was to return to Boston. This he did, being himself the bearer of the news of the failure of his campaign.

Now this expedition had been organized without the expenditure of a dollar. Everything had been obtained on credit. No provision whatever had been made for the payment of any portion of the expenses which had been incurred, nor was there money on hand to meet the salaries of the officers and the wages of the men. So confident of success were our people that they had relied upon the plunder to be brought from Quebec with which to pay the expenses of the expedition for its capture. Only a short time before the return of Phips's fleet to Boston, it had been proposed in the assembly to raise money to meet these impending obligations by borrowing from Boston capitalists, and one of the inducements proposed to be furnished to those who should loan the money was the offer of the expected plunder from Quebec as security for the loan. The colony was at that time in the hands of the interim organization which assumed

power after the downfall of Andros, and those in power constituted but a *de facto* government whose borrowing power was necessarily limited. The situation was therefore all the more dangerous when the fleet returned with its hundreds of sailors and soldiers, all disturbed about their pay and all anxious for a settlement.

It was under such circumstances as these that the proposition was made to emit to such of the creditors of the colony as would receive them in settlement of their claims, certificates of indebtedness on the part of the colony, divided into denominations corresponding with the coinage, in such shape as to be adapted to serve as a medium of trade, which certificates were to have their value established through an agreement on the part of the colony to receive them at all times in the treasury for all payments. Further it was understood that they were to be called in promptly by taxation and an additional inducement for their currency was given by making an allowance of five per cent on all payments to the treasury made in bills of public credit.

There was some hesitation on the part of a people who knew nothing of paper money in accepting the bills as a substitute for coins, but this did not last long and the bills soon circulated at par. Thus, in 1690, four years before the Bank of England was incorporated, was inaugurated in New England the experiment of a governmental denominational currency, which was so far successful that it was kept continually in use in Massachusetts until 1750, when the currency then outstanding, which had by this time, through excessive emissions, reached a discount of about ten shillings in bills for one in silver, was called in on the basis of seven and a half for one, and specie payments resumed.

It is no part of my plan to-day to discuss the details of the paper-money craze which prevailed in this colony during the first half of the eighteenth century. My object is to bring

before you the curious fact that our people here seem to have anticipated the English in the use of paper money. The claim may be made that their knowledge of the possibilities of such use may have been derived from Meules's experiment with playing cards at Quebec in 1685. That is undoubtedly true. Our people were then groping about, seeking after financial knowledge and ready to acquire such knowledge through experience. The experiment of the Fund was begun in 1681. It undoubtedly impressed the Boston merchants favorably, since Blackwell in 1686 was able to secure the co-operation of the council and of the influential men of Boston for his bank. The suggestion in 1681 of the "Change-bill" for pocket money had, in the interval, grown to the comprehension of the use of bills in denominations of twenty shillings and upwards in 1686. Whether knowledge of what Meules had done a few months before may have had its influence in this evolution we cannot determine. It is evident, however, that the Boston men were working intelligently along a line of investigation which makes it certain that they did not need the hint that Meules's pieces of cards might have furnished, and in view of the lack of communication between Quebec and Boston, it would seem quite probable that Blackwell was in 1686 ignorant of what had taken place there in the summer of 1685. Such was not the case, however, in 1690, when the bills of public credit were emitted. At that time writers advocating the bills of public credit pointed to the experience in Quebec as something worthy of imitation.

It will be seen that any claim for priority on the part of our forefathers in the development of a denominational paper currency, founded on the experiences heretofore rehearsed, demands that there shall not have been before that time any well authenticated instances of the use of paper money, either in Europe or, for that matter, in the mere discussion of

priority, elsewhere. If any such use is revealed, it would be fatal to the claim, even if we could show that knowledge of it had not reached the founders of the Fund, the organizers of the Blackwell Bank, and the assembly which emitted a governmental denominational currency in 1690.

Now, as a matter of fact, the claim has often been made that the Banks of Amsterdam and of Venice did, prior to that time, emit bills. It seems to be pretty well settled that such was not the case with the Bank of Amsterdam. Its custom was to receive deposits of coin, giving credit for the bullion value of the deposit in standard coin, and this credit was not only available for the adjustment of accounts with others, but was saleable on the Dam at any time. Such also would seem to have been the method of the Bank of Venice. At any rate, so far as I can ascertain, no specimen of any bill emitted by that bank can be found in any of the museums of Europe, although the statement has been frequently made by writers from that time down to the present that such bills were emitted.

It is a curious fact that the question whether the Bank of Venice emitted bills was discussed by some of the controversialists who participated in the paper-money polemic which was carried on in the province during the days of bills of public credit of old tenor and new tenor, and while our ancestors were busy organizing Land Banks and Silver Banks. A Boston merchant, absolutely unknown to fame, Hugh Vance by name, published in 1738 a pamphlet entitled, "Some Observations on the Scheme for £60,000 in Bills of a New Tenor." When Vance's "Observations" came out, Dr. Douglass, a well-known advocate of hard money, was engaged in writing his "Essay concerning Silver and Paper Currency," and he devoted the last half of this pamphlet to a reply to Vance. Both of these productions were anonymously published, and there is nothing to indicate that either of the

disputants knew who his adversary was. Vance, the author of "Some Observations," stood for paper money. Douglass, the author of the "Essay," was then and always true to his hard-money principles. Following this, Douglass came out in 1740 with his "Discourse concerning the Currencies," etc., a pamphlet which has been many times reprinted, and which has gained for him great renown.

Vance set to work after the publication of Douglass's Essay to reply to it, but he was more diffuse than Douglass and not so rapid a writer, so that the "Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money," in which the arguments of the "Essay" were severally answered, did not appear until after the publication of the "Discourse." Vance availed himself of this fact to add a "Postscript" to the "Inquiry, etc.," in which he discussed the "Discourse." This latter publication had by this time been on the market for some time, but "Douglass," instead of putting forth a new pamphlet by way of continuing the discussion, issued a postscript to the "Discourse" with continuous pagination, as though it were a part of the original pamphlet, in which he did what he could to finally settle Mr. Vance.

Now, in the "Essay" Douglass says: "In *Holland*, all large Transactions are in *Bank Transfers of Amsterdam*, their Credit being better than that of the Government and their Bank Money 3 a 5 *per cent*, better than Common Currency." In the same pamphlet he mentions the Bank of Venice, and speaks of the "Bank Money," but also specifically speaks of the "bills" of the bank.

Vance selects the Bank of Venice as the oldest and best modelled of the class of banks that do not make payments in gold or silver, but transfer assigned sums from one man's account to another on the books of the bank. He says, when the bank was opened, "Those who had a Mind to encourage it, carried their *Money* to the Bank, and had *Credit* given

them for these respective Sums upon the *Bank Books*: which *Credit* one might dispose of to any other Person, in the Way of *Payment* of a *Debt*, or by Way of *Sale*, and that by a bare *Transfer* upon the Books from his own Account to the other Person's, without any effective Payment of Silver or Gold." Farther on he says: "Of later years they have erected a *Cash Bank*," and he adds, "Some have said that they emitted Bills. But this is a fact I must call in Question."

These specific denials of the accuracy of Douglass's reference to these European Banks were disposed of by Douglass in the "Postscript" to the "Discourse" merely by characterizing them as "an imperfect Account of the Banks of Venice and Amsterdam," which for Douglass was a very mild way of meeting a difference of opinion on any matter, and which looks a little as if he did not feel quite sure that his statements as to these banks could be defended.

I have not brought in the opinions of Vance and Douglass, with a view of asking you to accept either of them as authority on this subject. It happens, however, that writers upon finance have generally accepted the statements that the Bank of Venice emitted bills, and having myself reached the conclusion that the quotations and the general statements on which these opinions were based refer to the credits of customers of the bank, and that the paper or bank money thus spoken of was the transfer of the bank credit of the depositor, I was much struck with the support to my conclusions, which could be derived from this eighteenth century controversial pamphlet published in Boston and written by a man of whom we know very little beyond what he tells of himself in his pamphlet.

We might, perhaps, abandon our subject here, but precisely as it was desirable that a word should be said about the European banks whose claims as originators of paper money, if admitted, antedate those of our forefathers, so there is one

other claimant, whose right to be heard cannot be challenged, and the soundness of whose claim cannot be denied, the only thing to be said about it being that, whether true or not, it was of little consequence and could not possibly have influenced matters either in Europe or in New England. The claim in question is that of China. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo found there a currency in circulation which fairly fulfilled the conditions of what we term paper money. Polo's account of what he had seen made no impression; it was in fact received with more or less incredulity. In China itself, whatever lesson was then learned was apparently lost to the Chinese and to the world, and there was no reason to suppose that either Europe or America could have gained information on this subject from that source in the eighteenth century. I should not have felt that there was any necessity for referring to the Chinese experience here, except for the reason that, by a curious accident, Marco Polo's story has recently been corroborated. During the loot of the palace which succeeded the suppression of the Boxer rising in Peking, some soldiers overturned a small statue. This accident disclosed the fact that there were concealed at the base of the statue, in much the same fashion as papers are sometimes placed in cavities under cornerstones of buildings, some specimens of the paper money, if we may so call it, of the Ming Dynasty. Certain Chinese characters were printed upon a sheet of the inner layer of the bark of a tree, and a translation of these characters would seem to justify the conclusion that these were specimens of a denominational currency capable of circulation in place of metallic money.

If we take up these experiences in the reverse form in which they have been presented we shall have no difficulty in rejecting the Chinese money as entirely outside any possible influence upon our forefathers; we can use our individual preferences in forming an opinion as to the possible influence

of the Bank of Venice ; we can give whatever credit we choose to the claim that may be made that Mueles's card money was known in Boston, but we cannot escape the fact that the Massachusetts bills of public credit anticipated the bills of the Bank of England by at least four years.

For sixty years these bills constituted the circulating medium of the province, then specie payments were resumed. During this interval the experience of the people furnished an object lesson for the world of the advantages, the disadvantages, and the dangers of paper money. By this time all, or nearly all of those who shared the responsibilities for the first emissions had passed away. Their children had assumed the reins of government, and their grandchildren, many of whom had never seen a silver coin used in ordinary trade, were just coming upon the field of action. Then followed a quarter of a century of prosperity with a hard money currency, and the generation then in control of events, the untrained and undisciplined men who held Bunker Hill so long against the British soldiers, saw the new government forced to resort to bills of public credit again, saw the bills of the colony withdrawn in favor of the continental money, saw Massachusetts do her share to sustain the enormous emissions that then took place, but in common with those who did not fully perform their part at that time, suffered again the penalties resulting from the undue emission of an irredeemable currency.

It is the prayer of those who know what were the sufferings of the provincials in the early part of the eighteenth century from lack of wisdom in the use of the bills of credit devised by our ancestors in 1690, and who appreciate what the heroes of Bunker Hill and the Sons of '76 endured for a similar cause, that our people may hereafter be true to the laws of restraint which, prudently exercised, make the use of paper money a blessing and not a curse.

COMMUNICATION
BY
COLONEL HORACE NEWTON FISHER

COPIES OF ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE MSS. COLLECTION AT THE
GEN. ARTEMAS WARD HOMESTEAD AT SHREWSBURY, MASS.,
EXAMINED AND COPIED BY COL. HORACE N. FISHER, JUNE 10,
1909.

GEN^L WASHINGTON TO MAJ. GEN^L ARTEMAS WARD, COMDG.
AMERICAN RIGHT WING AT ROXBURY.

CAMBRIDGE, 27th Feb. 1776.

TO MAJOR GEN^L WARD, ROXBURY.

Sir : —

We were falsely alarmed awhile ago with an account of the Regulars coming over from the Castle to Dorchester. Mr. Baylor, — whom I immediately sent off, is just returned with a contradiction of it. But, as a rascally rifleman went in last night and will no doubt give all the intelligence he can, would it not be prudent to keep six or eight trusty men by the way of look-outs or patrols on the Point next to the Castle, as well as on the Nuke Hill; at the same time ordering particular regiments to be ready to march at a moment's warning to the Heights of Dorchester. For, should the Enemy get possession of those Hills before us, they would render it a difficult task to dispossess them. Better it is, therefore, to prevent than to remedy an evil.

I am y^r most ob^t,

G. WASHINGTON.

CAMBRIDGE 2^d March /76

TO MAJ. GEN^L WARD, ROXBURY.

Sir : —

After weighing all circumstances of tides &c. and considering the hazard of taking the Posts on Dorchester Neck [being] taken by the enemy and the evil consequences that would result from it, the gentlemen here are of the opinion that we should go on there Monday night.

I give you this early notice of it that you may delay no time in preparing for it, as everything here will be in readiness to cooperate.

I am y^r most ob^t serv^t,

GEO WASHINGTON.

[Endorsement: — “This letter was sealed & upon it was written
‘Remember [Seal] Barrels’

The next day the following was sent.”]

TO MAJ. GEN^L WARD, }
COMMANDING AT ROXBURY }

CAMBRIDGE 3^d March 1776.

Sir: —

My letter of last night would inform you that the Gen^L Officers at this place thought it dangerous to delay taking Dorchester Hills, least they should be possessed before us by the Enemy, — and therefore involve us in difficulties which we should not know how to extricate ourselves from. This opinion they were inclined to adopt from a belief, indeed almost a certain knowledge, of the Enemy's being apprised of our designs that way.

You should make choice of some good regiments to go on the morning after the Post is taken, under the Command of Gen^L Thomas; the number of men you shall judge necessary for this Relief may be ordered: I should think from two to three thousand, as circumstances may require, would be enough. I shall send you from hence two regiments, to be at Roxbury early on Tuesday morning to strengthen your lines; and I shall send you tomorrow evening two companies of Riflemen which, with the three now there, may be part of the Relief to go on with Gen^L Thomas. These five companies may be placed under the care of Captⁿ Hugh Stephenson, subject to the command of the Officer commanding the Post (Dorchester): they will, I think, be able to gall the enemy sorely in their march from their boats, and in landing.

A blind along the Causey should be thrown up, if possible, while the other work is about; especially on the Dorchester side, as that is nearest the Enemy's guns and most exposed. We calculated, I think, that 800 men would do the whole Causey with great ease in one night, if the marsh has not got bad to work again and the tide gives no great interruption. 250 Axe-men, I should think, would soon fell the trees for Abattis; but what number it would take to get them, — the fascines, Chandeliers &c. in place I know not. 750 men (the working party, carrying their arms) will, I should think, be sufficient for a covering party. These to be posted on Nuke Hill — on the little hill in front of the 2^d hill, looking into Boston Bay and near the Point opposite the Castle. Sentries to be kept between the Parties and some on the back side looking towards Squantum.

As I have a very high opinion of the defence which may be made with barrels from either of the Hills, I could wish you to have a number over. Perhaps single barrels would be better than linking of them together, being less liable to accidents. The hoops should be well nailed, or else they will soon fly and the casks fall to pieces.

You must take care that the necessary notice is given to the militia, agreeable to the plan settled with Gen^l Thomas.

I shall desire Col^o Gridley and Col^o Knox to be over tomorrow to lay out the work.

I recollect nothing more to mention to you. You will settle with the officers with you, as what I have here said is intended rather to convey my ideas generally than wishing them to be adhered to strictly.

I am with esteem, Dear Sir,

Y^r most obed^t Serv^t,

G^o WASHINGTON.

CAMBRIDGE, March 24th 1776

TO MAJ. GEN^L WARD, ROXBURY.

Sir: —

I shall be obliged to you to send the inclosed letter to Col^o Quincy either tonight or early in the morning.

As these favorable winds do not waft the fleet from Nantasket, my suspicions are more and more aroused, I wish therefore the fire-raft, talked of by Col^o Tupper, could be attempted in a windy or dark night. I think this would discover their designs, if no other good effect resulted from it.

I am y^r most obd^t serv^t

G^o. WASHINGTON.

MEMORANDUM BY HORACE N. FISHER: — PRÉCIS OF THE FOUR
PRECEDING LETTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON

FEB. 27, 1776. From this letter it is apparent that Washington considered that if the British should occupy "Dorchester Neck" in force, it would enable them to continue the occupation of Boston indefinitely, as the town would have open sea-communication for reinforcements and supplies: that such event must be prevented at all hazards, and it would then be necessary to assault their works.

MARCH 2, 1776. From this letter it is evident that, after due consideration of tides, etc., and the danger of the British anticipating the American plan of seizing Dorchester Neck and the disastrous effect of such occupation upon the objective of the siege, the Council of War deemed immediate action unavoidable on our part, viz.: occupation and fortification of Dorchester Heights, for which every preparation had been made. To prevent delays this letter of warning was written to General Ward.

MARCH 3, 1776. This is a most important letter, inasmuch as it gives detailed instructions for the seizure, fortification, and defence of Dorchester Heights: to assure success, orders are given to protect the Causeway, from Dorchester Meeting House to Dorchester Neck across the marsh, by a "blind" or entrenchment on the side towards the British heavily fortified works on Boston Neck; to occupy the "Nuke Hill," where the British could best land from Boston, with a strong covering party while the Fatigue party threw up entrenchments on the commanding heights in the center of the peninsula. The use of barrels, filled with earth and chained together to break the assaulting columns, was a device highly commended by Washington. Apparently it was Gridley's device.

MARCH 24, 1776. Washington's suspicions of Howe's delay in Nantasket Roads portended a sudden dash on Boston aroused and his plan made clear to force the enemy's hand. Washington's letters of February 27th, March 2d and 3d were written on the eve of the crisis, to which his efforts had been steadily directed since July, in the face of the greatest difficulties for raising and getting into effective condition the raw provincial troops.

The successful occupation of Dorchester Heights, made impregnable to assault, was followed by the occupation of the hill overlooking the only landing place by which the British could land for assaulting the Heights. From that Hill artillery could enfilade the strong British works on Boston Neck and make them untenable, while the Americans advancing from Roxbury could assault them with success. This was the crowning effort and its success was practically certain, presenting to General Howe the alternative of capitulation or the evacuation of Boston: the latter was more desirable as it would save the town from probable destruction. Towards that end Washington ordered the guns, when got into position on the "Nuke Hill," not to fire on the Town but on the Shipping in Boston Harbor. There were about one hundred British Transports and Storeships at anchor in the Harbor; their destruction would render it impossible for the British Army to escape, the alternative was to fight a hopeless battle followed by unconditional surrender. Hence the order of Washington to confine the artillery fire on the Shipping was certain to hasten the evacuation of the Town.

With this understanding of Washington's plan, the letter written by his Aide de Camp and Secretary on March 10th may properly be made the closing act of the siege, being written by the command of Washington. Therefore a copy of that letter is now given.

CAMBRIDGE, March 10, 1776

TO MAJ. GEN^L WARD.

Sir : —

By his Excellency's command I am to inform you that it is his desire that you give peremptory orders to the artillery officer commanding at Lam's [i.e. Lamb's] Dam that he must not fire upon the Town of Boston tonight, unless the Enemy first begins a cannonade, and that he is not to fire thence upon the Town. If they begin and we have any cannon on Nuke Hill [often called Nook's Hill by common mistake], his Excellency would have the fire returned from thence among the shipping and every damage [done] to them that possibly can.

Notwithstanding the accounts received of the Enemy being about to evacuate the Town with all seeming hurry & expedition, his Excellency is apprehensive that Gen^L Howe has some design of having a brush before his departure and is only waiting in hopes of finding us off our guard. He therefore desires that you will be very vigilant and have every necessary precaution taken to prevent a surprise, and to give them a proper reception in case they attempt anything.

I am, Sir, y^r Hble. Serv^t

ROB^T H. HARRISON.

MEMORANDUM BY HORACE N. FISHER

This letter of Washington's Aide de Camp and Acting Secretary may be considered as Washington's own letter and representing his views. There is one point, incidental, which appears from the following letter from General Gates, Adjutant-General at Washington's Headquarters, who writes General Ward under date of January 10, 1776, by Washington's command. Moreover it determines the claim of Col. Rufus Putnam's admirers, notably the late Senator Hoar, that Colonel Putnam planned and built the works on Dorchester Heights which compelled the Evacuation. Washington's letter of March 3, 1776, positively assigns this duty to Colonel

Gridley (Chief Engineer of the Army) and to Colonel Knox. Gates' letter, dated January 10, 1776, orders General Ward to detach Colonel Putnam from the army besieging Boston and that he report to Gen. Charles Lee, already sent to New York to prepare defences of that town.

HEAD QUARTERS, 10th Jany. 1776

TO MAJ. GEN^L WARD, ROXBURY.

Sir : —

Major General Lee being sent upon an important service to the Westward, where it is necessary he should be supplied with a good Engineer, I am directed by his Excellency, The General, to desire you will immediately order Lieut. Colonel Putnam to proceed forthwith to join Gen^L Lee: he will find General Lee at New Haven; if not there, at New York.

I am, Sir, your most Obedient Humble servant,

HORATIO GATES, ADJUTANT GENERAL.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
AND
REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

JUNE 1, 1908, TO JUNE 1, 1909.

BALANCE, June 1, 1908:—

Income Account	\$268.44	
General Fund	612.76	\$881.20

INITIATION FEES, from 38 new members		\$190.00
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ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT		4,804.65
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INTEREST, allowed on Bank Balances		17.86
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NOTES PAYABLE		475.00
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\$6,368.71

CASH ACCOUNT.

EXPENDITURES.

JUNE 1, 1908, TO JUNE 1, 1909.

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00	
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	720.00	
Mary A. Bruce, <i>Clerk</i>	480.00	
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	732.00	
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	250.00	
Francis H. Lincoln, <i>Treasurer</i>	100.00	\$3,182.00

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	246.31	
Fuel	155.25	
Police service on Sundays	40.00	
City of Boston, water rate	30.50	
John W. Dennett: Extralabor—		
in removing snow	\$70.75	
on grounds, fence, and seats	89.00	159.75
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses at Monu- ment and Lodge	174.12	805.93
Expense of Annual Meeting and material for Proceedings	192.25	
University Press, printing	438.00	
Secretary's office rent, one year	150.00	
Record books, postage, stationery, and clerical service	24.50	
Greenleaf & Barnes, luncheon at the Vendôme	151.00	
Advertising	8.10	963.85
INTEREST		74.36
NOTES PAYABLE		500.00
BALANCE:—		
Income Account	25.15	
General Fund	817.42	842.57
		<u>\$6,368.71</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

Debits.		
The Monument	\$133,649.83	
Granite Lodge	<u>37,512.07</u>	\$171,161.90
Suspense Account		575.00
Cash		<u>842.57</u>
		<u>\$172,579.47</u>
Credits.		
Capital		\$170,161.90
Notes payable		1,575.00
Income	\$25.15	
General Fund	<u>817.42</u>	<u>842.57</u>
		<u>\$172,579.47</u>

FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1909.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1909, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and property of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE }
 GARDINER MARTIN LANE } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 10, 1909.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1908, TO JUNE 1, 1909.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama	116	Nebraska	183
Arkansas	27	Nevada	39
California	1,760	New Hampshire	2,983
Colorado	307	New Jersey	4,337
Connecticut	2,720	New York	25,116
Delaware	98	North Carolina	64
Florida	146	North Dakota	93
Georgia	149	Ohio	3,076
Idaho	96	Oklahoma	109
Illinois	3,286	Oregon	141
Indiana	722	Pennsylvania	5,547
Iowa	560	Rhode Island	1,708
Kansas	376	South Carolina	29
Kentucky	147	South Dakota	62
Louisiana	165	Tennessee	168
Maine	4,736	Texas	348
Maryland	377	Utah	493
Massachusetts	37,601	Vermont	1,035
Michigan	729	Virginia	210
Minnesota	446	Washington	174
Mississippi	75	West Virginia	127
Missouri	532	Wisconsin	868
Montana	108	Wyoming	88

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Arizona	46	New Mexico	17
District of Columbia	1,060		

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Africa	11	Honolulu	41
Australia	27	India	3
Austria	17	Ireland	1,031
British Columbia	32	Italy	216
Canada	730	Mexico	16
China	42	New Zealand	9
Cuba	75	Norway and Sweden	44
Denmark	3	Russia	2
England	189	Sandwich Islands	2
Europe	2	Scotland	72
France	9	South America	9
Finland	3	Spain	2
Germany	16	Switzerland	1

From the United States	102,277
From Territories of the United States	1,123
From Foreign Countries	2,604
Total	106,004
From Boston	1,993

Board of Directors

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES	1897
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1868	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL	1897
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE	1874	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1897
HENRY WALKER	1874	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH	1897
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER	1875	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	1898
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	JAMES DE NORMANDIE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1900
WILLIAM EVERETT	1877	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL	1900
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS		GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT	1900
MARVIN	1882	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER	1902
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY BODFISH	1885	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS	1902
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE	1886	FREDERICK LEWIS GAY	1902
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL	1887	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.	1902
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE	1887	CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD	1903
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER	1903
JOHN LATHROP	1890	NATHANIEL THAYER	1903
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS	1891	CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM	1904
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN (<i>Treasurer</i>)	1905
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893	MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON	1906
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894	GARDINER MARTIN LANE	1906
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1895	CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	1907
ARTHUR AMORY	1895	WALDO LINCOLN	1907
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	JOHN DAVIS LONG (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1908
HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895	ARTHUR LORD	1908
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL	1895	CHARLES EDWARDS PARK	1908
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Secretary</i>)	1896	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	1909
		JOSEPH WARREN	1909

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1909-1910.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, *President*,
FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, *Treasurer*,
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary*,
} *Ex Officiis.*

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

JOHN LATHROP.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE.

SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.

CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.

GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.

ARTHUR LORD.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1886.

OLIVER OTIS HOWARD.

1888.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.

DOUGLAS PUTNAM.

DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.

1891.

WHITELAW REID.

1893.

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.

HORACE PORTER.

1894.

ANDREW ELLICOTT KENNEDY
BENHAM.

1895.

GASTON DE SAHUNE DE LAFAYETTE.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

A.

Charles Elisha Adams.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
Charles Allen.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Francis Henry Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.
James Bourne Ayer.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Horace Sargent Bacon.
William Bacon.
Alvin Richards Bailey.

Andrew Jackson Bailey.
Ezra Henry Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
John George Barker.
Elmer Walter Barron.
Frank Trask Barron.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
Willis Carroll Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Boylston Adams Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
Stoughton Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Josiah Henry Benton, Jr.
William Emery Bicknell.
Charles Wesley Birtwell.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel May Boardman.
Joshua Peter Langley Bodfish.
Joel Carlton Bolan.
Charles Knowles Bolton.
John Bordman.
Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.

Henry Pickering Bowditch.
 George Gardner Bradford.
 William Burroughs Bradford.
 Frank Eliot Bradish.
 Henry Willard Bragg.
 Edward Walter Branigan.
 Frank Brewster.
 John Frederick Flemmich
 Brewster.
 John Franklin Briry.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.
 Edward Brooks.
 Lawrence Brooks.
 Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Shepherd Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Gilbert Patten Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Joseph Henry Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Herbert Wheildon Browne.
 Thomas Quincy Browne.
 Frederick Alexander Bucking-
 ham.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Alfred Monson Bullard.
 George Edwin Bullard.
 Augustus George Bullock.
 Samuel James Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 John Foster Bush.
 Charles Favour Byam.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C.

Arthur Tracy Cabot.
 Louis Cabot.

Eliot Lincoln Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 Grosvenor Calkins.
 Donald McLennan Cameron.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 Guy Edward Carleton.
 William Dudley Carleton.
 William Edward Carleton.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 Walter Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 Charles Augustus Chase.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.
 Munroe Chickering.
 Charles Francis Choate.
 William Worcester Churchill.
 Arthur Tirrell Clark.
 David Oakes Clark.
 Robert Farley Clark.
 Arthur French Clarke.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Hermann Frederick Clarke.
 Charles Warren Clifford.
 James David Coady.
 Darius Cobb.
 Arthur Bruce Coburn.
 Charles Henry Coburn.
 Charles Russell Codman.
 Rufus Coffin.
 Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
 Charles Allerton Coolidge.
 Ernest Hall Coolidge.
 Frederic Austin Coolidge.
 George Augustin Coolidge.

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
 John Joseph Copp.
 Joseph John Corbett.
 Edward Jones Cox.
 George Franklin Crafts.
 Edwin Sanford Crandon.
 George Glover Crocker.
 George Uriel Crocker.
 Clifford Fenton Crosby.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Stephen Moody Crosby.
 Prentiss Cummings.
 Henry Winchester Cunningham.
 Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr.
 John Silsbee Curtis.
 Frederic Haines Curtiss.
 Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

D.

James Dana.
 Richard Henry Dana.
 Allen Danforth.
 Henry William Daniell.
 Edwin Alfred Daniels.
 Charles Kimball Darling.
 Francis Henry Davenport.
 George Howe Davenport.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 Horace Davis.
 John George Dearborn.
 Henry Beals Dennison.
 Joseph Waldo Denny.
 Charles Lunt De Normandie.
 James De Normandie.
 Arthur Lithgow Devens.
 Richard Devens.
 Franklin Dexter.
 Gordon Dexter.
 Morton Dexter.

Philip Dexter.
 William Sohler Dexter.
 Pitt Dillingham.
 Charles Healy Ditson.
 Horace Dodd.
 Arthur Walter Dolan.
 Charles Acton Drew.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.
 Henry Dorr Dupee.
 Theodore Francis Dwight.
 Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.
 Henry Herbert Edes.
 Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Elisha Doane Eldredge.
 Samuel Atkins Eliot.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 Ephraim Emerton.
 Eugene Francis Endicott.
 William Endicott.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 Harold Clarence Ernst.
 Edward Everett.
 William Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.
 William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Augustus Alanson Fales.
 John Whittemore Farwell.
 Henry Gregg Fay.
 Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.

William Wallace Fenn.
 George Prentice Field.
 Horace Cecil Fisher.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Francis Apthorp Foster.
 Francis Charles Foster.
 John Andrews Fox.
 Walter Sylvanus Fox.
 Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Joseph La Forme Frothingham.
 Paul Revere Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Henry Holton Fuller.

G.

Charles Theodore Gallagher.
 Ernest Lewis Gay.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 George Washington Gay.
 Charles Gibson.
 Isaac Stebbins Gilbert.
 Shepard Devereux Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Abner Cheney Goodell.
 Elbridge Henry Goss.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Joseph Foster Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Henry Sturgis Grew.

William Elliot Griggs.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.
 Courtenay Guild.
 Curtis Guild.
 Curtis Guild, Jr.

H.

Edward Hale.
 Richard Walden Hale.
 Robert Sever Hale.
 Edward Henry Hall.
 Franklin Austin Hall.
 Thomas Hills Hall.
 Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
 Charles Sumner Hamlin.
 Henry Mason Harper.
 Walter Leo Harrington.
 Samuel Tibbetts Harris.
 Thaddeus William Harris.
 Thomas Norton Hart.
 William Henry Hart.
 Henry Hastings.
 Albert Fearing Hayden.
 Henry Williamson Haynes.
 Frank Conant Hayward.
 Augustus Hemenway.
 Joseph Putnam Bradlee
 Henshaw.
 Everett Carleton Herrick.
 Eben Newell Hewins.
 Philip Hichborn.
 Lewis Wilder Hicks.
 Francis Lee Higginson.
 Henry Lee Higginson.
 Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
 James Frederic Hill.
 Joseph Warren Hill.
 William Henry Hill.
 Thomas Hills.

Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
 Samuel Parker Hinckley.
 George Miller Hobbs.
 Joshua Bennett Holden.
 Charles Bradley Holman.
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.
 Robert Homans.
 Franklin Hopkins.
 Edward Augustus Horton.
 Clement Stevens Houghton.
 Archibald Murray Howe.
 Charles Warren Howland.
 Edwin Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.
 Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Richard Clapp Humphreys.
 James Frothingham Hunnewell.
 James Melville Hunnewell.
 Francis William Hurd.
 George Frederick Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
 George Brimmer Inches.

J.

Henry Percy Jaques.
 Benjamin Joy Jeffries.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Angier Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 George Franklin Jewett.

Edward Francis Johnson.
 Wolcott Howe Johnson.
 Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.
 Franklin Lawrence Joy.

K.

Andrew Paul Keith.
 William Vail Kellen.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Arthur Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.

Henry Lefavour.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 Wilford Jacob Litchfield.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Arthur Lord.
 Calvin Lord.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.
 William Henry Lyon.

M.

Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Edward McLellan.
 George Sumner Mann.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 William Theophilus Rogers
 Marvin.
 Albert Mason.
 Charles Frank Mason.
 Albert Matthews.

Nathan Matthews.
 Frederick Goddard May.
 Frank Merriam.
 Albert Brown Merrill.
 Thomas Minns.
 Joseph Grafton Minot.
 Samuel Jason Mixer.
 Godfrey Morse.
 John Torrey Morse, Jr.
 William Russell Morse.
 James Madison Morton.
 Marcus Morton.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Edward Augustus Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.
 Frederick Strong Moseley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.
 James Gregory Mumford.

N.

Francis Philip Nash.
 Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Arthur Howard Nichols.
 Sereno Dwight Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 Joseph Warren Noble.
 Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

William Herbert Oakes.
 John James O'Callaghan.
 W. H. O'Connell.
 James Monroe Olmstead.

Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 Francis Augustus Osborn.
 William Newton Osgood.
 Herbert Foster Otis.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
 Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Robert Treat Paine.
 Charles Edwards Park.
 Eben Francis Parker.
 Francis Jewett Parker.
 Frederick Wesley Parker.
 Herbert Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.
 Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 Leighton Parks.
 James Parker Parmenter.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 Henry Wayland Peabody.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Frederick Pease.
 Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
 Alvah Henry Peters.
 Frederick George Pettigrove.
 Stephen Willard Phillips.
 Edward Charles Pickering.
 Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
 Phineas Pierce.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
 David Pingree.
 William Taggard Piper.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George A. Plympton.

George Sanger Poole.
 Charles Hunt Porter.
 Robert Marion Pratt.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
 Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 Edward Melvin Raymond.
 Charles French Read.
 Alanson Henry Reed.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 Joseph Warren Revere.
 Edward Belcher Reynolds.
 James Ford Rhodes.
 William Ball Rice.
 William Reuben Richards.
 Amor Hollingsworth Richardson.
 Gedney King Richardson.
 Parker Jones Richardson.
 Spencer Cumston Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 Thomas Oren Richardson.
 William Cumston Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.
 Peter Stillings Roberts.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 John Robinson.
 William Robinson.
 Gorham Rogers.
 James Hardy Ropes.
 George Ivison Ross.

George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 Frank Rumrill.
 William Stanton Rumrill.
 Thomas Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 Charles William Sawyer.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 Edward Keyes Sawyer.
 George Sawyer.
 Warren Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 Joseph Henry Sears.
 Thomas Oliver Selfridge.
 Henry Shaw.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 William Green Shillaber.
 Abraham Shuman.
 Howard Livingston Shurtleff.
 William Stearns Simmons.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Denison Rogers Slade.
 Benjamin Farnham Smith.
 Charles Card Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith.
 Frank Langdon Smith.
 Franklin Webster Smith.
 Jeremiah Smith.
 Mark Edward Smith.
 Sidney Leroy Smith.
 Charles Armstrong Snow.
 Charles Carroll Soule.
 Robert Alexander Southworth.
 Arthur John Clark Sowdon.

Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Philo Woodruff Sprague.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Roderick Stebbins.
 Horace Holley Stevens.
 Solon Whithed Stevens.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Augustus Whittemore Stover.
 Willis Whittemore Stover.
 Charles Edwin Stratton.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 William Willard Swan.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.
 Lindsay Swift.

T.

Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.
 Eugene Van Rensselaer Thayer.
 Ezra Ripley Thayer.
 John Eliot Thayer.
 Nathaniel Thayer.
 William Roscoe Thayer.
 Washington Butcher Thomas.
 John Thompson.
 Albert Thorndike.
 John Larkin Thorndike.
 Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
 James Brown Thornton.
 Walter Eliot Thwing.
 Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
 Frank Todd.
 James Pike Tolman.
 Everett Torrey.

Edward Britton Townsend.
 David Howard Tribou.
 Washington Benson Trull.
 George Fox Tucker.
 George Frederick Tufts.
 Nathan Fitz Tufts.
 Henry Augustus Turner.
 John Franklin Turner.
 Julius Herbert Tuttle.
 Edward Royall Tyler.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.
 Frank Vose.

W.

Frederick Augustus Walker.
 Henry Walker.
 Henshaw Bates Walley.
 Eugene Wambaugh.
 Frank Edwards Warner.
 Joseph Bangs Warner.
 Charles Warren.
 Edward Ross Warren.
 Henry Lee Jaques Warren.
 John Warren.
 John Collins Warren.
 Joseph Warren.
 Lucius Henry Warren.
 Nathan Warren.
 William Fairfield Warren.
 Winslow Warren.
 Walter Kendall Watkins.
 Winslow Charles Watson.
 Charles Goddard Weld.
 Stephen Minot Weld.
 Alfred Easton Wellington.
 Frederick Augustus Wellington.
 Jonas Francis Wellington.

Arthur Holbrook Wellman.
 Joshua Wyman Wellman.
 Barrett Wendell.
 David Brainard Weston.
 Robert Dickson Weston.
 Thomas Weston.
 Thomas Weston, Jr.
 Henry Wheeler.
 Horace Leslie Wheeler.
 Edmund March Wheelwright.
 George William Wheelwright.
 William Gleason Wheildon.
 Bradlee Whidden.
 Renton Whidden.
 Stephen Hampden Whidden.
 Edwin Augustus White.
 James Clarke White.
 Albert Turner Whiting.
 James Henry Whitman.
 William Whitman.
 David Rice Whitney.
 James Lyman Whitney.
 Morris Fearing Whiton.
 George Clark Whittemore.
 Albert Rufus Whittier.
 George Wigglesworth.
 Henry Crafts Wiley.
 Arthur Walter Willard.
 Levi Lincoln Willcutt.
 William Lithgow Willey.
 Charles Herbert Williams.
 George Frederick Williams.
 Henry Morland Williams.
 Holden Pierce Williams.
 Horace Dudley Hall Williams.
 Joseph Williams.
 Moses Williams.
 Robert Breck Williams.
 Stillman Pierce Williams.

John Boynton Wilson.
Albert Edward Winship.
William Henry Winship.
Erving Winslow.
Robert Mason Winthrop.
Roger Wolcott.
Samuel Huntington Wolcott.

William Prescott Wolcott.
George Gregerson Wolkins.
Stephen Foster Woodman.
Henry Ernest Woods.
Frank Ernest Woodward.
Frank Vernon Wright.
George Wellman Wright.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1910

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ASSOCIATION
1910



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1910

THE HISTORY OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION



BOSTON
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PROCEEDINGS

Boston, June 17, 1910.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme this day at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

The President, DR. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, occupied the Chair.

Prayer was offered by Reverend PHILO WOODRUFF SPRAGUE, D.D., of St. John's Church, Charlestown.

The Records of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The President delivered his Annual Address.

Honorable CURTIS GUILD, JR., addressed the Association on "Fighters and Spectators at Bunker Hill."

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, Esquire, Professor of American History in Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, delivered an address on Lieutenant-Colonel Rufus Putnam's connection with the Siege of Boston, under the title "A Hero of Dorchester Heights."

Remarks were made by ARCHIBALD M. HOWE, Esquire, and Honorable WINSLOW WARREN.

A communication from the VICTORIAN CLUB of Boston was read, in which that body expressed a wish to place on the monument grounds a memorial of British officers and soldiers who lost their lives at the Battle of Bunker Hill. The letter was referred to the Standing Committee with full powers.

A letter written to Honorable G. Washington Warren in the year 1877 by Miss ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY regarding the laying of the corner-stone of the monument was shown by the President. It was ordered that the letter be printed.

The report of the Treasurer, FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, Esquire, together with that of the Auditors, was read and approved.

It was voted that the Addresses made at the meeting, with the usual documents, be referred to the Standing Committee for publication in its discretion.

The Association then elected as Resident Members the persons recommended to it by the Standing Committee.

MESSRS. CHARLES M. GREEN, EDWARD C. BATTIS and CHARLES F. READ were appointed by the chair a Nominating Committee and, on their report, the officers named on page 9 were elected by ballot.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS

President

JOHN COLLINS WARREN

Vice-Presidents

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
WINSLOW WARREN

JOHN DAVIS LONG
JAMES DE NORMANDIE

Treasurer

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN

Secretary

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN

Directors

ARTHUR AMORY
FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER
JOSHUA PETER LONGLEY BODFISH
EDWARD BROOKS
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE
CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS
HENRY HERBERT EDES
WILLIAM ENDICOTT
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL
HENRY FITCH JENKS
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

GARDINER MARTIN LANE
JOHN LATHROP
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT
WALDO LINCOLN
ARTHUR LORD
THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP
FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN
JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL
MOORFIELD STOREY
NATHANIEL THAYER
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE
HENRY WALKER
JOSEPH WARREN
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH
HENRY ERNEST WOODS

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION :

Please accept my hearty greetings to you on the eighty-seventh anniversary of the foundation of this Association.

I have but little to report to you in the way of changes which have concerned our body during the past year. The condition of the grounds and of the monument seems to be satisfactory. New trees have been set out by the Street Commissioners, in the Square, showing a sympathetic attitude on the part of the City to the preservation of the monument grounds.

There is a growing local sentiment developing itself, I think, towards keeping the vicinity of the monument in a condition harmonious with its surroundings, and strong feeling exists that the branch of the City Library when erected in Charlestown should be placed on Monument Square, and that the character of the architecture should be similar to that of the schoolhouse, which already is an admirable and decorative feature.

Could a suitable lot be obtained for this purpose, it might be possible that a home for the Association might be found in the new building. The necessity for such a home has been borne in upon me constantly of late by the accumulation of a number of portraits of past members, and many relics indirectly connected with the battle, but intimately associated with the history of our organization. I have thought it wise

to confine the walls of the Lodge to pictures and relics connected with the battle, but there are many interesting articles associated with our history which need preservation, and for the care of which a special room, or building, would be extremely desirable.

I venture again to express the hope that as the changes in Monument Square work themselves out from time to time, any opportunity which may offer for accomplishing such a desirable end as this will be embraced.

No large expense has been necessary to carry out any improvements on the grounds or monument this year, and it is a fortunate circumstance that no unusual demands had to be made upon the Treasurer at the present time. The Treasurer's report, which will be presently presented to you, shows a floating debt of \$1,800, which represents an excess of expenditure over income during the past four or five years. This is due principally to the falling off of the receipts from admissions to the monument during the past two years. It was at first thought that this decrease was only of a temporary character, but an investigation of the causes seems to indicate that more or less permanent change in the habits of visitors to the monument has taken place. It is the habit of excursion agents who bring parties to the monument to allow not more than twenty minutes before proceeding to some other point of interest, which is too short a time in which to make an ascent of the monument. It is possible that the absence of an elevator may affect the enthusiasm of many of the present generation, who are not accustomed to the frugal and more athletic habits of their ancestors, and who feel more acutely, therefore, the necessity of some mechanical contrivance to convey them to a considerable height. However this may be we appear to face at the present time a slight deficit, which is more or less permanent in character. It should be said that the sum mentioned is to a certain extent

offset by a small fund which has accumulated as the result of setting aside the initiation fees of members. This amounts at the present time to about \$1,000, and if it were used to neutralize the deficit would leave us but a few hundred dollars in debt. It has been thought wise, however, to preserve this fund intact for some emergency.

It may be a matter of surprise to some of the members to learn that the Association has no financial resources beyond that obtained from the annual fees of the visiting tourists. The funded resources of the Association were wholly exhausted with the completion of the new Lodge. In view of all this, it seems wise for your President to call your attention to the financial condition of the Association, and to express the hope that some patriotic or liberal minded members may see fit, either by gift or by legacy, to take the initiative towards the establishment of a permanent endowment fund. A few legacies have from time to time in the past been left to the Association; a small one will soon be paid over to our Treasurer.

The impression does not seem to prevail that this great memento of the opening of the Revolutionary era, which was built only after much prayerful effort and almost superhuman exertion during a long period of time, should continue to receive the support of subsequent generations. In this connection it is interesting to state that papers containing parts of Mr. Webster's original draft of his second Bunker Hill oration have been presented to the Association through the courtesy of a member. They were formerly in the possession of the late John P. Healy, who was the business and office assistant of Mr. Webster. When Mr. Healy died, about 1882, these papers, with others, were found in his safe. There is no doubt that Mr. Webster sent the draft to Mr. Healy to be copied, and that the missing parts were recalled by Mr. Webster for revision. They are given to the Associa-

tion in memory of Joseph Healy, a former member. I shall take the liberty of quoting to you only a few lines of the opening passage of these precious manuscripts. Thus spoke Daniel Webster on June 17, 1843,—"A duty has been performed, a work of gratitude and patriotism is completed. This structure, having its broad foundations in soil which drank deep of early Revolutionary blood, has at length reached its destined height and now lifts its summit to the skies." Were the inspired orator with us to-day, I feel sure he would find in the theme which I have suggested to you a cause well worthy of a burst of eloquence.

The Association has also received a number of valuable manuscripts from Gen. Lucius H. Warren, son of our former President, referring to the early history of the Association, from which I have selected a letter to the Hon. George Washington Warren from Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, in which a graphic account is given of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle, when the corner-stone of the Monument was laid.

The matter which has principally interested me during the past year has been the completion of a collection of portraits of the commanding officers engaged in the battle, and the results of this work I have the pleasure of laying before you in an exhibit here to-day. The attempt has been made to obtain these from original sources as far as possible, as has already been explained in the previous report.

The collection consists of portraits of three British officers, Generals Howe and Clinton, and Captain Linzee of the Navy. On the American side are the portraits of Generals Putnam and Stark. The existing memorials of Prescott and Warren seemed to render superfluous an attempt to get additional portraits of these officers. All these five portraits have been received during the past year. They have been placed in the Lodge and are now brought hither for your inspection.

The portrait of Captain John Linzee is a gift of his great-

great-grandson, Mr. C. W. Amory, and was copied by Ernest L. Ipsen from a portrait in his possession.

The portrait of General Clinton is a copy of an original portrait in the possession of the Duke of Newcastle, which was kindly sent by him to the National Portrait Gallery in London, where a copy was made. This portrait was presented to the Association by Mr. Amory A. Lawrence.

A photograph of each of these two portraits appeared in our last proceedings.

There being apparently no original oil portrait of General Howe in existence, I was obliged to be content with a mezzotint which was obtained in London through the courtesy of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, our ambassador, and this portrait has been presented by Dr. W. L. Richardson.

Of the two American officers, the portrait of General Stark is of special interest. This was obtained by application to the Secretary of State of New Hampshire, and through him I was able to have a copy made of a portrait taken from an original sketch by Miss Hannah Crowninshield.¹ It was evidently taken during the latter part of the General's life, and, therefore, long after the date of the battle, but as it bears the earmarks of a study from life and seems to me, so eminently characteristic of the individual himself, I thought it wiser to select this study rather than another which is in the town hall of Manchester, New Hampshire. Although the General in this latter picture is in Continental uniform, and about the age when he took part in the battle, the portrait does not ap-

¹ "The original was painted by Miss Hannah Crowninshield, when the General was eighty-two years old. This is the only correct likeness of him extant." (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xlix, 1895, p. 180.)

"In 1819 Commodore, then Lieutenant, Armstrong was married in Salem, Massachusetts, by the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, to the reverend gentleman's favorite and accomplished pupil, Hannah Crowninshield, a daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Lambert) Crowninshield, with whom he continued to live happily until her death, May 4, 1834." (Ibid. 1871, vol. xxv, p. 271.)

pear to possess the look of originality which the Concord picture enjoys. I was able to obtain this portrait for the Association through the generosity of Mr. Gardiner M. Lane.

The mezzotint of General Putnam was obtained by me through a London dealer. A careful inquiry at the capitol at Hartford and New Haven failed to reveal the existence of an original oil portrait of General Putnam, and with the exception of the head which appears in the battle of Bunker Hill, by Trumbull, there seems to be no portrait in existence. The mezzotint, therefore, seems to be as good a representation of General Putnam as can be obtained.

The members of the Association are too familiar with the history of that eminent patriot and soldier, Israel Putnam, for me to take much time in giving a biographical sketch of him. A few brief notes are essential, however, to be spread upon our records in connection with the portrait exhibited to-day.

Israel Putnam was born in that part of Salem now constituting the town of Danvers, on January 7, 1718, and died in Brooklyn, Connecticut, on May 17, 1790. According to the American Cyclopædia, he was the eleventh in a family of twelve children, and in his boyhood was noted for his physical strength and bravery. He had, however, but few educational advantages. He served with distinction during the Colonial wars, and was the hero of many hair-breadth escapes. Although not the actual commander of the forces at the battle of Bunker Hill, he played a conspicuous part in that engagement, and was active and efficient in various ways,—in planning additional fortifications on Bunker Hill, in scouring the whole peninsula to hurry up reinforcements, and in mingling with, encouraging and threatening the men at the rail fence. He may be considered representative of the part which the Connecticut troops played in that engagement.



ISRAEL PUTNAM



JOHN STARK

Putnam was appointed major-general by Washington, and served with distinction through the greater part of the Revolution. During the summer of 1779 he held command of the Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia troops in the Highlands of New York, and assisted by his cousin, Rufus Putnam, and others, completed the fortifications at West Point. He returned home during the following winter, while the army was in winter quarters, and on starting out again for camp suffered a stroke of paralysis. He then took up his residence on his farm in Brooklyn, and there remained until his death.

The inscription upon his tombstone is, — “He dared to lead where any dared to follow.”

John Stark was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, on August 28, 1728, and died in Manchester, New Hampshire, on May 8, 1822. Stark also served during the Colonial wars, rendered efficient service in bringing off the troops after the expedition to Ticonderoga in 1758, and was actively employed in the subsequent campaign. After the battle of Lexington, he received a Colonel's commission and led a regiment which formed the left of the American line at the battle of Bunker Hill. He represented the men of New Hampshire in that engagement. Subsequently, he was in the expedition against Canada, and was at Trenton and Princeton. When the time of his regiment expired, he returned to New Hampshire and raised a new one. He assisted later at the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was a member of the court-martial which condemned André.

General Stark lived in retirement after the war, nearly completing a century, and he was the last of the surviving generals except Sumter.

The portrait of Sir William Howe, which was not obtained at the period of our last meeting, has since been added to the collection, and I must refer the members of the Association to my brief account in the Proceedings of 1909 for a sketch of

his life. As the senior major-general of the forces in and about Boston, he was in command of the troops on the day of the battle. Later in the war he was succeeded in command by Sir Henry Clinton, and eventually became after the death of his brother Richard, fifth Viscount Howe.

In this connection I would call your attention to a communication which was received during the past winter from the Victorian Club of Boston, in which a request was made — “That the Bunker Hill Monument Association grant permission to erect a suitable monument to the British soldiers who fell at Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, to consist of a bowlder with polished surface and suitable inscription thereon, to meet the approval of the said Association.”

I would suggest that this matter be referred by the Association to the Standing Committee, with such comments as you may see fit to make upon it. To me personally it seems a reasonable request, and one which could not do otherwise than add to the interest of the battle field. It is, however, a departure from the custom which has hitherto prevailed, in that no monument to those who died in battle has been thus far placed upon the ground.

The past year has left us with but a single vacancy in our list of Directors. He who has gone was not only one of the senior members of this Board and associated with its meetings for nearly the space of a generation, but was of such a marked personality and enjoyed such a wide reputation in his own special work that he seems to leave a more than usual sense of loss behind him. The son of a father distinguished as a great orator, he excelled not only in scholarship and eloquence, but showed a most remarkable versatility in his varied intellectual accomplishments. Old-fashioned in dress and manners, a character loaded with striking eccentricities, there lay beneath the instincts of a cultured gentleman, and a heart filled with sympathy and affection for those who measured up to the level which he had set for his standard.

William Everett died February 16, 1910. He was born in Watertown on October 10, 1839, the third son of Hon. Edward Everett. He was educated in the Cambridge High and Boston Public Latin Schools. He graduated from Harvard in the class of 1859, and from Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1863. After studying at the Harvard Law School he received an LL.B. in 1865. He was admitted to the Bar in 1866, but never practiced law. He received an A.M. from Williams in 1869, and from Cambridge in 1870. At this time he was appointed tutor in Latin in Harvard College, and Assistant Professor in 1873, resigning this last position in 1877. In 1872 he was licensed to preach by the Boston Association of Ministers, and occupied from time to time Unitarian pulpits in different parts of the country. In 1878 he was appointed Master of the Adams Academy in Quincy, where he remained until the permanent closing of the school. In 1893 he was elected to Congress in the Seventh Massachusetts Congressional District, as a Democrat, and he served for one term. In 1893 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Williams College. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

This simple enumeration of the offices which he filled, and the honors he received, give but a faint idea of the place he occupied in our community during his day and generation. His intellectual calibre, his learning and erudition were of such a high degree that it seemed as if he might occupy any position which ambition might have led him to attain, but standing firmly in the pathway towards success were physical peculiarities, which greatly hampered him in his life struggle. Of high-strung temperament and delicate frame, and a constitution which had evidently been undermined by an insidious affection of long standing, he seemed unable to cope with the ordinary annoyances and obstacles

which cross the path of the average man and are brushed aside as of little import. So it was that in all the positions which he attempted to fill there were difficulties which seemed to him almost insurmountable. Under the circumstances, the fact that he has left so strong an impression upon the community in which he lived speaks highly for his great powers and his brilliant qualities as a scholar. It has always seemed to me that in our social organization, whether political or academic, we have neglected to build up an abiding place for such sensitive and highly cultivated natures; in other countries such a man would have found a dignified and comfortable niche in appropriate surroundings, which would have reflected honor upon himself and the institution with which he had become associated. Everett was left, as it were, to struggle alone and unaided with his peculiarities and his physical weakness, and the great intellect, which under more favorable surroundings might have shone forth still more brilliantly, was allowed to languish from lack of sympathy and from neglect.

ADDRESS .

OF

HONORABLE CURTIS GUILD, JR.

FIGHTERS AND SPECTATORS AT BUNKER HILL

BY HONORABLE CURTIS GUILD, JR.

Paul Laurence Dunbar, the negro, in his virile poem on victory in defeat, says in the concluding stanza:

“The man who is strong to fight his fight,
And whose will no front can daunt,
If the truth be truth and the right be right,
Is the man that the ages want.
Though he fail or fall in grim defeat,
Yet he has not fled the strife
And the house of earth shall smell more sweet
For the perfume of his life.”

What is true of men is true of nations. As the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, so the sacrifice of the citizen is the uplift of the Nation.

We meet to-day to celebrate such a sacrifice; one of those Pyrrhic victories in which the moral advantage of the defeated far outweighed the actual success of the victorious. Even if this were neither Boston nor Massachusetts nor America the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill would still be worthy of commemoration. Such an event does not happen in the world once in a century. I recall but five such victories in recorded history. I doubt if the list could be materially extended of the class of battles which includes the Persian victory at Thermopylæ, the victory of Pyrrhus at

Ausculum, the capture of the little *Revenge* by the Spanish fleet, the victory of King George at Bunker Hill and the victory of Mexico at the Alamo.

Of these five battles, occurring at rare intervals in a period covering over twenty-three hundred years, the Pyrrhic victory over the Romans, which has provided the name for all, is the least deserving of the title. The most popular accounts of Rome's defeat by the brilliant king of Epirus in those two days of fighting were written by Romans. It is true that the Roman resistance to Pyrrhus did shatter the Red King's plans for an Epirot monarchy of the world. Modern historical criticism, however, has dispelled the notion that any particularly heroic defence was made by the Romans. The forces were almost equally matched. Pyrrhus with the Tarentines and their allies mustered eighty thousand men. The Romans and their allies mustered seventy-eight thousand men. The Roman boast that the losses of Pyrrhus were thirty thousand, while their own were but ten thousand is but a boast. Mommsen, on the contrary, sets the loss of Pyrrhus in killed and wounded at thirty-five hundred and the Roman loss at six thousand, a very moderate expenditure of life as compared, for example, with the losses in battle after battle in the War for the Union or in the recent conflict between Russia and Japan. The battle of Ausculum, however, did demonstrate that the Latin cities not only preferred Roman to Greek leadership, but would fight for it. For that reason rather than because of any particular heroism on the part of the forces that opposed Pyrrhus did the moral victory in that instance remain not with the victorious Pyrrhus but with the beaten Romans.

Far otherwise was it with Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans who died under the Persian arrows at Thermopylæ. Far otherwise was it with the Texans in the fort of the poplar tree, who left for their countrymen the inheritance

of that brave epitaph, "Thermopylæ had a messenger, the Alamo had none."

Of all these rare and splendid deeds of daring, the most similar, though strangely dissimilar, to the achievement of Prescott and Putnam was the old Elizabethan sea fight of the Revenge against the fleet of Spain.

You know the story of the one ship against the fifty-three. Tennyson has told it in the companion poem to his immortal battle song of the cavalry at Balaclava. Need I again describe the broad Atlantic plain off Flores in the Azores and Sir Richard Greynville in his one ship with half her crew disabled with sickness, facing and fighting the whole Spanish fleet, for the freedom of the seas and the freedom of man's thought?

Fifteen hours they fought, those bull dogs of Queen Bess, under the setting sun and under the moon till the sun rose again. Two of the great Spanish ships went down, more withdrew, broken and disabled. One hundred English men at the outset faced five thousand and at the end but twenty stood upright upon the English deck. Every mast was down, every ounce of powder was gone, there were six feet of water in the hold. The captain lay prostrate with a shattered leg and a bullet wound in his head.

"And the stately Spanish men to their flagships bore him then
Where they laid him by the mast, old Sir Richard caught at last,
And they praised him to his face with their courtly foreign grace;
But he rose upon their decks and he cried:
'I have fought for Queen and Faith like a valiant man and true;
I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do.
With a joyful spirit I, Sir Richard Greynville, die.'
And he fell upon their decks and he died."

It was a man of the same race who, clad in his long banyan, walked solitary and alone along the top of the redoubt at Bunker Hill amidst the hail of cannon shot, to steady his raw levies for the coming test of steel. It was a man of the same race, his white silk stockings and breeches splashed to the

hips with blood, who led those three heroic charges up the hill against that redoubt and asked his grenadiers to go no further than he himself should lead them.

Bunker Hill was but a miniature battle. The numbers engaged were small. Yet in proportion to those numbers the losses were terrific, seldom to be matched in the whole history of the world.

No poet as yet has adequately crowned this achievement of New Englanders in defence of their own soil. Patriots' Day has been over-shadowed by Memorial Day, and in the just commemoration of the service of '61 Massachusetts has well nigh forgotten that here upon her own soil there were heroes before Agamemnon.

The First Minnesota Infantry in that historic charge at Gettysburg lost eighty-three per cent in killed and wounded. The One Hundred and Forty-first Pennsylvania at Gettysburg lost seventy-five per cent. The One Hundred and First New York lost seventy-three per cent at Bull Run. On the Northern side, in the Great Rebellion, there were sixty-five regiments, including a brilliant list from Massachusetts that lost more than half their force in a single engagement.

Bigelow's Massachusetts Battery at Gettysburg was deliberately sacrificed to save an army. It faced death with a cheer. Every horse and every man was killed or wounded, one hundred per cent of casualties.

It is the honorable custom to quote these figures and such as these as evidence of American daring. Across the water in the Franco Prussian war one remembers that the greatest regimental loss in killed and wounded sustained by any regiment of either side was that of the Third Westphalian Infantry, who left one-half of their number dead or wounded on the field of Mars le Tour. The loss of the Light Brigade in its charge at Balaclava was thirty-seven per cent.

These losses, however, American and foreign, admittedly

exceptional, were sustained not by the entire force engaged, but by some specially exposed portion of that force. Even in the most hotly contested engagements the percentage of loss by the entire armies engaged has been comparatively small.

The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge in his *Story of the Revolution* has compiled most interestingly the comparative losses of all engaged in some of the world's great battles. At Waterloo the total British loss in killed and wounded was thirty-four per cent, the total loss of the English and allies together was but fifteen per cent. At Gettysburg the total Union loss was but twenty-five per cent. At Gravelotte the total German loss was but fourteen per cent.

More interesting even than these figures are those referring to the experiences of English troops in other battles in the Eighteenth Century. At Blenheim the English losses in killed and wounded were twenty-five per cent, at Ramillies but seven per cent, at Malplaquet less than twenty-five per cent, at Fontenoy but fourteen per cent.

In the "little battle" of Bunker Hill the American force actually engaged was but fifteen hundred, not much more than a modern regiment. The English forces actually engaged were but twenty-seven hundred, less than a modern brigade. The American loss was four hundred and forty-nine, thirty-three per cent. The English loss was admittedly ten hundred and fifty-four, thirty-nine per cent, and by American authorities was claimed to be fifteen hundred, or fifty-five per cent.

According to both accounts one hundred and fifty-seven English officers, including every officer of Lord Howe's staff, were killed or wounded.

Bunker Hill then, in proportion to the forces engaged, was not merely the bloodiest battle of the eighteenth century but one of the half dozen most desperate engagements ever known.

Every year in militia manœuvres to-day Massachusetts puts into the field double the number of the combined forces which fought on both sides at Bunker Hill. The actual engagement lasted but an hour and a half. Yet that period of ninety minutes marks a change in the course of history and in favor of the defeated party. It introduced new tactics in warfare now universally adopted. It gave the world an example of human bravery that has never been surpassed and seldom equalled.

The undrilled and undisciplined Americans had faced and, till their ammunition failed, had overwhelmingly repulsed the very flower of the best army in Europe. King George's cause that day was upheld in the field by the veterans of Minden and of Quebec: the Thirty-eighth; the Forty-seventh, Wolfe's Own; the Royal Irish; the Welsh Fusiliers — famous regiments all. The repulse of troops like these was New England's answer to the sneer of Lord Sandwich that the Yankees were but cowards. They showed themselves so far from cowards that even after the victory the sullen retreat of men armed but with empty muskets was so threatening that the victors not only failed at once to press their advantage home, but for eight months refrained from the obvious need of occupying Dorchester Heights, which was to the right wing of the besieging force what Bunker Hill was to the left wing.

In all honesty, however, the laurels of daring must be evenly divided. No other troops, probably not even the Americans themselves, had the situation been reversed, could have been depended upon to face three times the storm of death that greeted the folly of that frontal attack, never successful except as against the Fellaheen at Tel el Kebir, magnificent, but scarcely war. The Americans in the redoubt did not surrender, as did even Greynville in the Revenge, when their powder gave out. They met the third assault with pebbles and musket butts. The English soldiers, how-

ever, did not know that the powder of their antagonists was exhausted. They supposed they were again to face the same death-dealing blast of flame that had twice stretched their comrades in scarlet windrows under the scythe of the awful reaper. They supposed that. Yet they went forward for the third time, regiments reduced to battalions, companies reduced to little squads. In some cases every officer being gone, they were led by the oldest private soldier.

There was glory for the American blue flag with the old scarlet cross of the Puritans in the corner that went backward in defeat, but where brave men talk of brave deeds there will ever be glory, too, for the red flag with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew that at the last waving on the redoubt marked the victory of King George.

Shall I tell you again the story of the battle? You remember the prayer on Cambridge common on that summer evening as the men of Prescott went forward to their work. You remember the plying of pick and spade under the very eyes of the British sentinels and the surprise at Yankee daring at the rising of the sun. There it stood: Gridley's Yankee redoubt, as open an insult to English strategy as was the Chateau Gaillard, the saucy castle of the Normans to the power of the King of France. To the left old Israel Putnam, unconscious that he was originating the new tactics (that commands infantry to dig, to entrench at every instant of halt) was utilizing his hay and his fences as Jackson later did his cotton bales.

There is instant cannonading from the ships. One man is killed, and the pious army with the instinct of their Puritan forbears, actually celebrate under fire a funeral for the first to fall. It is concluded and the officiating parson reaches for a musket and powder horn and takes his place in the line.

The long summer day drags on to afternoon. The English assaulting parties cross in boats and dine at their leisure

at the foot of the hill. They gather for the assault. "Old Put" repeats to his troops the famous counsel of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, "Hold your fire till you can see the whites of the enemy's eyes" and adds to it, mindful of the upward jerk of the nervous rifleman, "Aim at the belts. Pick out the handsome coats. Those are the officers." Then come the three historic charges, a battle as short as Marathon, and Bunker Hill has passed into history.

General Greene might well say that he wished America could sell another hill to England at the same price. Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave as his comment, "Two more such victories and England will have no army in America." Franklin, when he heard the news, triumphantly proclaimed that England had already lost her colonies. Washington, when greeted with the assurance, on his way to Cambridge, that the militia did fight, confidently declared that the liberties of the country were safe.

Such, however, as Mr. Fisher so well points out, was not the general contemporary opinion of the battle. Prescott, raging with indignation, made his way to the headquarters of the brave but overcautious Artemas Ward, shouting that with two fresh regiments he proposed to drive the Red Coats backward into the sea. The failure to support Prescott and Putnam with men, ammunition or even food, aroused then, as it has aroused since unstinted reprobation which Washington himself initiated. A long list of courts martial followed, in which more than one officer was cashiered for cowardice and others removed for inefficiency.

It was plain then, it is plain now, that the American defeat was utterly unnecessary. The lone apologist for General Ward, who on that day showed that a brave soldier may be a bad general, tries to explain Ward's failure to support the men who did the fighting by declaring that he needed all his men to defend Cambridge.

Many critics who blame Howe and justly, for not making a flank attack on the redoubt have suggested that Howe might have landed at Charlestown Neck.

These criticisms have all been made by historians, not by soldiers.

Now, an attack as far in the rear of the American entrenchment as Charlestown Neck, still more an attack at Cambridge, would have exposed the English forces to the converging fire, not merely of the men under Prescott and Putnam, but of the main army under Ward. The Red Coats would have been caught between two fires, and from a force that was not only much larger than the entire British forces in America, but at least five times as large as that of the British assailants at Bunker Hill. The intention of the British to assault the hill seemed probable, shortly after daybreak, from the movement of their troops in Boston, plainly visible from the other shore. Reinforcements were asked of Ward by Putnam at daybreak, again at nine and again at ten. Not, however, until eleven did the stubborn Shrewsbury lawyer yield and send orders to a few hundred of New Hampshire men to join the gallant little band on the hill. Even then they were not at first furnished powder and though the English landed at one and more reinforcements were again asked at half past one, it was not until full afternoon that the slender reinforcements of plucky New Hampshire men reached the field.

Granting the lack of discipline, granting difficulties of communication and conflicting information, Ward had four direct and official notifications of the needs of the outpost which he had flung out. The firing of the English ships across the Neck at Charlestown was not sufficiently severe to prevent the passage of the New Hampshire companies. Putnam rode through it half a dozen times unscathed. History can never excuse General Ward, but he was not alone responsible. In the rear of the fighting men on Breed's Hill

was Colonel Gerrish, one of the officers disgraced later, and his men. They stopped on the slopes of the real Bunker Hill and refused to join their comrades. With them in inglorious safety was Callender's Battery, which refused to fight at all, because they wished to fight as infantrymen, not as gunners. Across the Neck on Cobble's Hill stood Colonel Seammans and his following, gazing as spectators at a contest in which they should have borne their part. There were gallant individuals, Pomeroy of Northampton, Warren and the rest, who made their way as volunteers to the firing line, but these were rare exceptions.

One thousand men marched to Breed's Hill and worked all night with pick and spade. They toiled through the blazing heat of that summer morning and noonday with the help of reinforcements of but five hundred men. They fought that dreadful battle in the afternoon. About them from the tree-tops, from the hillsides and from the ridge poles of the houses of the city across the narrow strait tens of thousands of their countrymen, thousands of their comrades in arms looked on idly and watched them die. Not one hand was raised to bring the needed powder, nor food, nor even, in spite of their Puritan training, "the cup of cold water" to the few who were risking their lives for the many.

Bunker Hill was a defeat more glorious than victory because of the fifteen hundred who endured and fought and died there. It would not have been a defeat, however glorious, but one of the most spectacular victories the world has ever known, if it had not been for the shame that must ever remain that at such a crisis the mass of Americans, soldiers and citizens alike, were content with looking on.

Had that last charge failed, as it might easily have been made to fail, Boston would have been saved nine months of siege and our independence won with many less years of war.

The siege of Boston ended by a piece of strategy exactly

similar to that of Bunker Hill. The fortification of the commanding position of Dorchester Heights on the right wing of the patriot army made the evacuation of Boston absolutely necessary. The holding of Bunker Hill would have had a similar effect. The English did not assault Washington Heights, not merely because a storm had given opportunity to make the works there of a more enduring character than the earth entrenchment at Charlestown, but because experience had shown them at Bunker Hill what such an assault would cost.

Not in battle only have we won honor for America through the few that endured and suffered. Not in battle only has our country suffered shame because in the face of national peril the many have not acted but looked on.

There have always been a few to fight the assaults upon clean government by the Tammanies, Republican or Democratic, but only when the great masses of the people have done their duty have such evil assaults been, not merely bravely resisted, but triumphantly repelled.

We are passing through a new Revolution, a bloodless one, in the development and character of our country. More and more of the spectators are leaving the housetops and the hillsides, shamed from their looking on by the men who in the last twenty years have been arousing, not merely the political, but the business conscience of the Nation. We have not won our Yorktown yet, but we are well past our Monmouth, our Bennington and our Saratoga.

It has been discovered that even corporations can have souls. The commonplaces of high finance twenty years ago are impossible today. The conscience of financiers is more active than when not so long ago "J. S. of Dale" first called attention to the biting truth of that time that financial leaders in high places had one code of morals for their business and another for their homes, and doffed their business for their

social code of honor with their office coats as they dressed for dinner. Restraining laws have since had to be brought forward not to prevent men from making money, but to compel men to make it honestly.

The attempt has succeeded.

The dictation to class organizations, as well as to employees as to their votes is no longer binding. The Australian ballot is making it possible in greater and greater measure in nominations as well as in elections to ascertain the true voice of the people and make it more nearly the voice of God. The natural resources of the country are being conserved for the benefit of posterity, not wrecked for the selfish enjoyment of a privileged class of the present generation. The individual citizen is no longer deaf to the cry of child labor or blind to the public's responsibility for the public health.

The parable of the good Samaritan is getting into public life. A private citizen no longer sits down contentedly to gaze with bovine dulness while the boss and the grafter handle everybody's business. Everybody's business is no longer nobody's business. Everybody's business is becoming your business and my business and the whole world is our neighbor.

Bunker Hill may well be remembered for its warning as well as for its inspiration. The individuals composing the forces which in peace or war are hostile to the Republic are seldom consciously evil. The men in the red coats who fought against liberty and human progress on that day believed as honestly in their cause as did the men in gray at Gettysburg, and were as gallant in upholding the cause that they believed to be right as were the patriots in upholding the cause that was right.

In the contests of peace men delude themselves as honestly with prejudice and passion. There are ever also in peace

as well as war, Americans who, like Arnold, confound their own fortune with the fortunes of their cause and when the cause no longer yields them personal promotion are willing to wreck their cause for the sake of themselves. There are ever, too, on the Ship of State barnacles to be dragged forward, not actively aggressive for evil perhaps but passively potent for delay. Not in these nor in such as these, is to be found the new American ideal.

Freedom of conscience was the aspiration of the Old World. Activity of conscience is the inspiration of to-day.

Our truest leaders are not the Gateses and the Arnolds, who seek for themselves, but the Warrens and the Schuylers, to whom service is more welcome than rank and who for the sake of a cause are ready to serve in any capacity that the cause may triumph though they themselves go down.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori: The old accounts of Bunker Hill record that those who on that day fought for privilege against the rights of the people cheered but faintly at their victory. The silence that followed the faint cheers upon that side has never since been broken.

There was no cheering from the defeated Americans, yet the whisper of Warren, dying in defeat, rings still with the keen, fine reverberation of a silver trumpet. His was no gasp in gallant failure at a crisis, but an eternal rallying cry to us, his countrymen, to lead our lives, not in crises merely, but daily till death claims us, with the respect of our own consciences, for the betterment of our fellows and to the glory of the Giver of our noble heritage.

ADDRESS
OF
PROFESSOR ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

A HERO OF DORCHESTER HEIGHTS

BY PROFESSOR ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY :

The Bunker Hill Campaign ended at Dorchester Heights. With the successful occupation of those strategic hill-tops, by the Continentals March 4th, 1776, and the maintenance of their position there was no hope of Howe's keeping possession of Boston. What Bunker Hill is, geographically, on one side of Boston, Dorchester Heights is on the other; so, historically, they form the introduction and the conclusion of the drama enacted here in those doubtful years of 1775 and 1776, and the result was of signal inspiration to the struggling Colonies at the beginning of the long dark conflict with Great Britain. Any matter of moment upon any point during this campaign is of importance to the whole campaign, therefore it is that I beg to submit to your attention a résumé of Rufus Putnam's connection with the fortification of Dorchester Heights which made possible its occupation. In speaking to you on this theme I would be doing so under false colors if I did not say that I come as a representative from the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, of which Dr. G. Stanley Hall is President, and to which several of your own members belong. The reason for my appearance here is explained by a statement made in the last annual publication of The Bunker Hill Monument Association, issued in June, 1909, in which was printed certain letters of General Washington's recently

discovered at Shrewsbury. In one of these the Commander-in-Chief ordered Colonel Rufus Putnam from Boston to perform a duty elsewhere, and the editor of the manuscripts, noting that the date of the letter preceded that of the evacuation of Boston by the British in March, 1776, reasoned that Rufus Putnam, who has been called the Hero of Dorchester Heights, could not have had anything to do with the fortification of that hill-top and was not even in the neighborhood of Boston at the time. The editor used these words: "[this letter] determines the claims of Colonel Rufus Putnam's admirers, notably the late Senator Hoar, that Colonel Putnam planned and built the works on Dorchester Heights which compelled the evacuation."

I do not know how Worcester people felt because an honor concerning which Senator Hoar had been so solicitous during his earthly days was suddenly snatched away from a hero whose name had been made famous through his study and reflection, but I can tell you that far out on the Ohio, in a shady New England-like city, people stopped on the corners to ask each other if the ravages of historical research which had knocked Barbara Frietchie and Sheridan's Ride and Wolfe's scaling the Quebec cliffs all into cocked-hats was now to blast the fair name of the "Father of Ohio" and the Founder of Marietta and Marietta College. For if Rufus Putnam didn't solve the problem of how to drive the British out of Boston so far as we are concerned out there, the Constitution of the United States is all played-out and the State of Ohio must be re-settled and re-admitted into this great Union of States all over again. We've bragged about it and boasted of it; we've sung it in our churches and thanked the Lord for it forty thousand times. I say "we"; I am a Yankee from Bennington, Vermont, schooled at Lyndon Institute and St. Johnsbury Academy, but I went West a couple of decades ago to grow up with the country,



RUFUS PUTNAM

and this is one of the beliefs they make boys grow up with out there; and I'm not sure but "How Rufus Putnam Saved Boston" is the compulsory theme upon which at least one graduate of Marietta College is compelled to harass his audience every Commencement.

And so we westernized Yankees thought at once that there must be some catch in the thing somewhere. You know we are, in a way, as suspicious of you as the Southerners and foreigners in the West were of the first Yankees who came across the mountains with their wooden nutmegs to build the first flour-mill in Ohio and first distillery in Kentucky. You may have heard that one of these Yankees overtook a staid German farmer in the glades of Pennsylvania going home with his grist, which he carried in one end of a bag balanced by a stone in the other end. "My friend," begged the disturbed Easterner, "throw away that stone and put half your meal in each end of the bag." The German did so, but after his comrade left him and rode on in advance misgivings seized him. He stopped and got another stone. "Py Jing," he said, "efferybody in the klades carries their krist so and dat Yankee's got some getch in it."

So we began to look for the catch in this annihilation of Rufus Putnam's claim to fame. The Washington letters mentioned above were written in February and March, '76, to General Ward.¹ One was written by Washington's secretary, Rob. H. Harrison, March 10th. Concerning it the editor makes the following comment, also referring to a letter from General Gates to Ward which we will quote later:

"This letter of Washington's Aide de Camp and Acting Secretary may be considered as Washington's own letter and representing his own views. There is one point, incidentally, which appears from the following letter from General Gates,

¹ Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, June 17th, 1909, 51-56.

Adjutant-General at Washington's Headquarters, who writes General Ward under date of January 10, 1776, by Washington's command. Moreover, it determines the claim of Colonel Rufus Putnam's admirers, notably the late Senator Hoar, that Colonel Putnam planned and built the works on Dorchester Heights which compelled the Evacuation. Washington's letter of March 3, 1776, positively assigns this duty to Colonel Gridley (Chief Engineer of the Army) and to General Knox. Gates's letter dated January 10, 1776, orders General Ward to detach Colonel Putnam from the army besieging Boston and that he report to General Charles Lee, already sent to New York to prepare defences for that town."

The letter from General Gates reads :

HEAD QUARTERS, 10th Jany. 1776,

TO MAJOR GEN^L WARD, ROXBURY.

Sir :—

Major General Lee being sent upon an important service to the Westward, where it is necessary he should be supplied with a good Engineer, I am directed by his Excellency, The General, to desire you will immediately order Lieut. Colonel Putnam to proceed forthwith to join Genl. Lee: he will find General Lee at New Haven; if not there at New York.

I am, Sir, your most Obedient Humble Servant,

HORATIO GATES, ADJUTANT GENERAL.

How soon Colonel Putnam returned from his journey with General Lee I am not able to say. On February 11th, however, he wrote the following letter to Washington from Roxbury which shows him to have been at work some days at least on the Dorchester proposition :

ROXBURY CAMP, Feb. 11, 1776.

May it please your Excellency: You have enclosed a chart of some of the most important posts and rising ground in and near Boston, which is as exact as I am able to make from the little leisure I have had to take surveys of them. By this draft, it

appears, that the enemy's works on the Neck is nearer the Causeway going to *Dorchester Point* than *Bunker Hill* is to the covered way going on to *Leechmore's Point*. Therefore, if a covered way was necessary in that case, it will be in this. Should your Excellency think proper to order works thrown up on any part of the Point, how this covered way will be made is a question. To procure upland or marsh turf at this season, is, in my opinion, absolutely impossible, and nothing short of timber, instead of turf, will answer the purpose. The method I have thought of, is to side or hew the timber on two sides only, raising a single tier on the side of the Causeway, raising a parapet of stone and earth next the enemy, the timber to be well spliced together, and, if need be, a post with a brace in about fifty feet to support the timber against the stone and earth. I know stones are bad in a parapet, but as they are easily procured from the walls at *Dorchester*, and I think cannot be driven through the timber by any shot whatever, I would place them at the bottom, and cover the top with earth, which might be procured by opening a pit for that purpose. About two hundred rods is necessary to be made a covered way, with eighty tons of timber to raise one foot, and so in proportion to every foot the parapet is high.

I have been to the Swamp I mentioned to your Excellency the other day, find it between twelve and thirteen miles from the lines of *Dorchester*; there is near One Hundred tons already got out, besides a number of mill-logs; the carting from this place will be twelve shillings per ton. One hundred tons more may be had on these lands, if the Swamp does not break, and, no doubt, but timber may be had in other places. What your Excellency may think of so costly a work I cannot tell, it is the only method I know of, but wish a better way may be found out. I hope your Excellency will pardon my officiousness in suggesting, that I think this work may be carried on with safety to the people employed, and to the cause in general, as the enemy cannot take possession of *Dorchester Hill* at present. Can we, by any means, raise a covered way in this frozen season, it will be of no small consequence in taking possession of this ground in a favorable hour. The people who have been employed by Mr. Davis¹ in getting the

¹ See quotation from Heath's *Memoirs* cited below.

timber out of the Swamp, will get no more unless your Excellency gives orders for it.

I remain, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.¹

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

It was while engaged in this work that General Putnam happened upon the idea which was to make possible the fortification of a solidly frozen hilltop. In a little yellow volume — one of the most priceless manuscripts in the collection owned by Marietta College — in General Putnam's own handwriting, is given his autobiographical story of this discovery. The reliable character of the man, his brave record of patriotic service, the nobility of the purposes and ambitions of his long life, make his simple words, modestly desiring credit where credit was due, of unusual interest:

Now with respect to taking possession of Dorchester Neck there were circumstances which fell within my knowledge, and sphere of duty, which were so evidently marked by the hand of an overruling providence that I think proper to relate them.

As soon as the ice was thought sufficiently strong for the army to pass over (or perhaps rather before) a council of general officers was convened on the subject what their particular opinions were I never knew, but the Brigadiers were directed to consult the field officers of their several regiments, and they began to feel the temper of the captains Subalterns.

While this was doing I was invited to dine at Head-quarters, and while at dinner, General Washington desired me to tarry after dinner, and when we were alone he entered into a free conversation on the subject of storming the town of Boston.

That it was much better to draw the enemy out to Dorchester, than to attack him in Boston no one doubted, for if we could maintain ourselves on that point or Neck of land, our command of town and harbor of Boston would be such as would probably compell them to leave the place.

But the cold weather which had made a bridge of ice for our passage into Boston, had also frozen the earth to a great depth,

¹ Force, *American Archives*, IV, 1008.

especially in the open country, such as were the hills on Dorchester Neck — so that it was impossible to make a lodgment there in the usual way, however, the General directed me to consider the subject and if I could think of any way in which it could be done, to make report to him immediately — and *now mark those singular circumstances* which I call providence. I left head-quarters in company with another gentleman, and in our way come by General Heaths'. I had no thoughts of calling until I came against his door, and then I says, "let us call on General Heath," to which he agreed. I had no other motive but to pay my respects to the General. While there I cast my eye on a book which lay on the table, lettered on the back, *Mullers Field Engineer*. I immediately requested the General to lend it to me. He denied me. I repeated my request. He again refused, and told me he never lent his books. I then told him that he must recollect that he was one who at Roxbury in a measure compelled [me] to undertake a business, which at the time, I confess I never had read a word about, and that he must let me have the books after some more excuses on his part, close pressing on my part, I had obtained the loan of it.

I arrived at my quarters about dark. It was the custom of the overseers of the workmen to report to me every evening what progress had been made during the day. When I arrived there was some of them already there. I put my book in the chest, and if I had time, I did not think of looking in it that night. The next morning as soon as opportunity offered, I took my book from the chest, and looking over the contents I found the word, Chandi-lears. What is that, thought I, it is something I had never thought of before, but no sooner did I turn to the page where it was described with its use but I was ready to report a plan for making a lodgment on Dorchester Neck. (Infidels may laugh if they please.)

In a few minutes after I had for myself determined, Col. Gridley (the engineer who had conducted the work at Cambridge) with Col. Knox of the artillery, who had been directed to consult with me on the subject, arrived. They fell in with my plan. Our report was approved of by the General and preparations immediately set on foot to carry it into effect and everything being ready for the enterprise, the plan was put in execution and a lodgment on Dor-

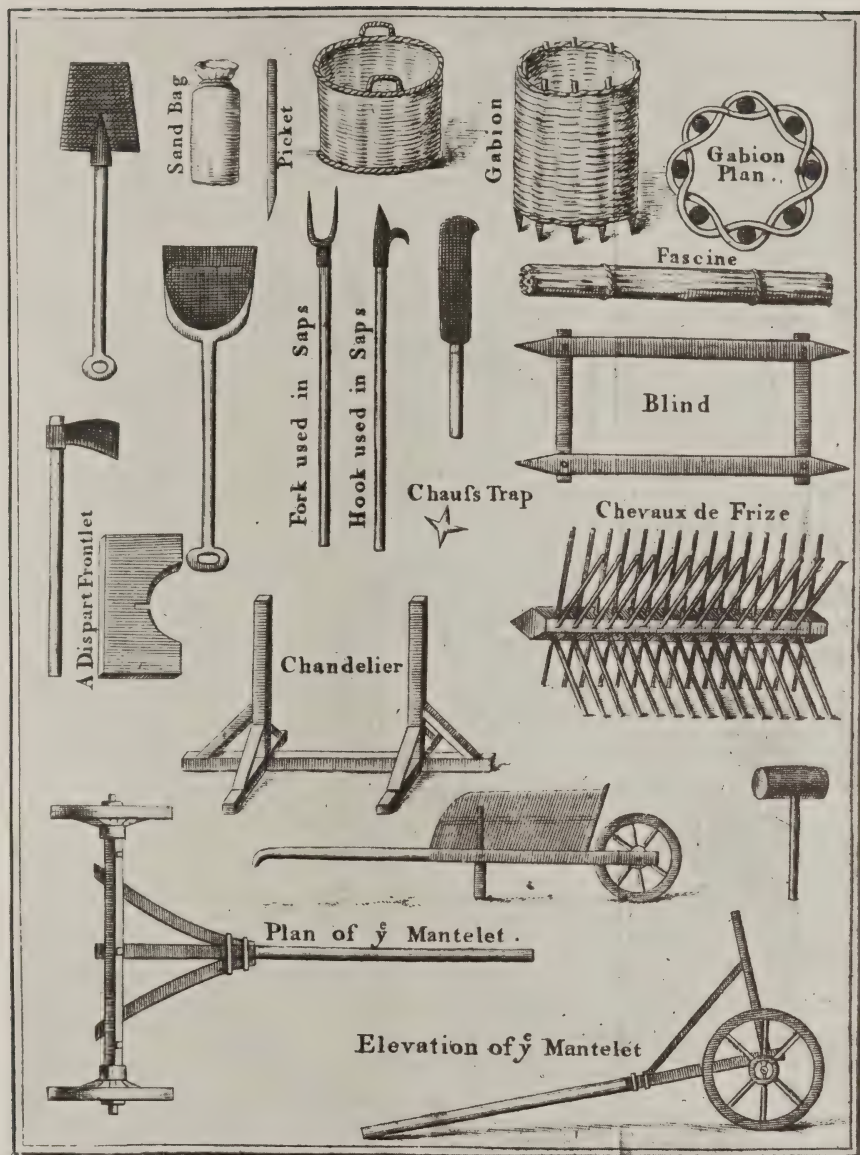
chester Heights in the night of the 4th of March. Such were the circumstances which led to the discovery of a plan which obliged the enemy to leave Boston, viz: — a lodgment made of Chandeliers, fascines, etc.¹

In a search for this volume which made it possible to regain Boston we found the *Attack and Defence of Fortified Places* by John Muller, printed in London in 1757, in the British Museum. Turning from the word "Chandeliers" to the "page where it was described with its use" (to quote General Putnam) we find: "Chandeliers, wooden frame, made of two pieces fixed crossways on two other pieces, and upon their intersections are erected two vertical pieces of five feet high, each supported by three buttresses; in the interval of these two pieces is filled up with fascines, to cover the troops." The accompanying illustration is from a photograph from Muller's book, showing a chandelier, with other military works.

It would be interesting to find among the descendants of General Heath the copy of Muller's volume which General Putnam borrowed; but I suggest this reluctantly because failure to locate the book might lead an evil-minded original researcher to draw an inference more difficult to attack than a mere misinterpretation of a letter from General Gates to General Ward!

From such examination as I have been able to make of the subject it seems that the occupation of Dorchester Heights has not received full attention. There is room for another interesting and valuable monograph on this portion of the first campaign of the Revolution. A considerable search among manuscript sources revealed very little to the present writer concerning that night of March 4th, 1776, when (to British eyes) a miracle was wrought on the neighboring hill-

¹ This can be found in printed form in Miss Rowena Buell's *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, 56-58. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.



MILITARY APPLIANCES, INCLUDING A CHANDELIER

(PHOTOGRAPH FROM "MULLER'S ATTACK AND DEFENCE OF FORTIFIED PLACES," BRITISH MUSEUM)

top. The ringing axes in the orchards and swamps around Boston in the days preceding that night explain the miracle away. Instead of being excavated on the hill, those fortifications were brought to the hill. Baled hay ("screwed hay" it was then called) barrels filled with earth, and chandeliers filled with fascines, comprised the fortification which General Howe looked upon in wonder on the morning of the 4th of March. How these were prepared, by whom and when, how transported and located would be a story well worth a place in the annals of the Revolution. It seems clear to the present writer that the key to the entire puzzle was always the chandelier which General Putnam found in General Heath's book. A military friend has suggested that these were used only to fortify the Causeway leading to the Heights. As will be seen, presently, it was the chandeliers that were the principal feature of the fortifications on the hilltops. This carried out the scheme devised by Colonel Putnam, but I believe the documentary evidence is sufficient for us to say that he devised and planned the fortifications which Gridley and Knox built.

The general story of the night is well known.

"The plans and preparations of Washington," wrote Ellis, "for possessing these heights were so deliberate and thorough, so carefully studied in the minutest detail, so conditioned upon alternative and co-operating movements of his own, and upon the action of the enemy, as to prove with what patient and brooding study he had wrought them out. There was in them no suggestion of a surprise, no occasions of hurry and afterthought, no lack of any provision needful for success. Cheerfully, heartily, and without any withholding of needful aid, were his plans and their details advanced by all on whom he relied. Many elemental influences which were baffling to the enemy favored him. His chief difficulty lay in the fact that the ground on the heights was frozen to the depth of eighteen inches, and the next was the exposure of Dorchester Neck, over which his men and means must pass. The

utmost diligence had been previously used by Colonel Mifflin and others to provide these means — three or four hundred ox-teams and carts, large quantities of fascines, chandeliers, bundles of screwed hay to protect the Neck and to aid in the construction of the defences, with barrels fastened together and filled with stones, sand and gravel, for rolling down from the declivities to break the ranks of the assailants. On the evening of Monday, March 4th, a covering and a working party, making 2,000 men, under General Thomas, started on the enterprise, as quietly as possible, the direction of the wind also favoring the secrecy of their motives. It was also a part of the plan to engage the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade on the other side of Boston. By ten o'clock at night the men had raised a fort, proof against small arms and grape-shot, on each of the two farthest elevations, menacing respectively the town, and the Castle and vessels.

"It was a mild, clear night for the season; warm work neutralized the chill air. A full moon overhead was accompanied by a haze settling over the town and lowlands, and veiling the enterprise from the entries of the enemy. A relief party came on at three o'clock in the morning, of Tuesday. Not till some time after daybreak were the works disclosed to the British, and when General Howe gazed at the spectacle, he is said to have declared, in his amazement, that the rebels had done more in a night than his whole army would have accomplished in months. He was at once warned by the Admiral that the completion of the forts would require him to withdraw his vessels from the harbor. Of course the rebels must be dislodged, or he must evacuate the town. The day was the now historic fifth of March, and as it was expected that it would repeat some of the scenes acted on Bunker's Hill, the word passed from Washington as a rallying cry, bidding the provincials remember the day of the 'bloody Massacre.'" ¹

Glimpses into the events of that moonlight night are precious because of their rarity. Writes one eyewitness:

"*March 4th.* — 'Going on the Dorchester Neck tonight,' is now the toast of the day. About ten o'clock, took a walk up to the Meeting House, where I learned that a Brig. General, Cols. Witcomb, Reed, and Wyllys, with six other field officers, and two thousand men, properly officered, were to go on to Dorchester

¹ *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston, 91-92.*

this night about the middle of the day, a large party of teams made their appearance in camp engaged for our enterprise tonight.

“*March* 4th. — “A little before sunset marched off from Roxbury; but for more than half a mile before we came to Dorchester lines, we overtook teams in great plenty, nor did we find any vacancy till we came to the lines; in some places we were so wedged in together we were obliged to leave the road to get forward; reached the lines at seven o’clock, where we waited half an hour for orders, when a signal was given and the cannonade began at Lamb’s Fort, and was immediately answered by a very warm fire from the enemies lines; a brisk fire between N. Boston and our Fortifications on Cambridge side, began soon after. It was supposed there was a thousand shot and shells hove this night, by both armies, more than three-fourths of which were sent from Boston. Our party consisting of about twenty-four hundred men, with three hundred teams, were crossing the marsh, on to the Neck, which together with a fresh breeze at W. S. consealed us from the enemy until they could see our works by daylight. The division to which I was assigned commanded by Col. Whitcomb, was ordered on, to the northerly hill, where in our hour’s time, we had a fort enclosed with fascines placed in chandeliers; and we immediately employed as many men at entrenching as could be advantageously used for that purpose. A larger party was assigned the high hill, where they erected a larger fort, built much in the same manner as ours, there were also four other smaller forts and batteries erected this night on other eminences on the Neck. * * *

“Our party, under the immediate command of Brig. Gen. Thomas, having taken possession of almost every advantageous eminence of the Neck, and considerably fortified them, were relieved by a detachment of three thousand men from the Roxbury lines, without the notice of the enemy; our division marching off in the rear of the whole, crossed the marsh a little before sunrise, but yet we escaped the shot of the enemy, and came home to our quarters, sun about an hour high, weary and hungry.”¹

Richard Hildreth, the historian, gives us another glimpse of that night’s good work through the eyes of his grandfather Joseph :

¹ *The Historical Magazine* (Oct. 1864) 328-9.

“Not yet twenty years of age, he was sent to aid in the siege of Boston, with his father’s team of oxen, and was one of the party employed in transporting the fascines to Dorchester Heights, out of which were constructed the fortifications by means of which the British were driven out of Boston. The night was dark, and the road very heavy, but not a word could be spoken to the oxen, strict silence being enjoined on the teamsters, and the sentinel marching by the side of each to enforce it. The wheels stuck deep in the mud, and my poor grandfather, according to his own account, as related to me by my father, could not help shedding tears of vexation — all the Hildreths, so far as I have known them being a rather sensitive set — at the predicament in which he found himself. The tin lantern which he carried on that occasion was long preserved in the family, but, I am sorry to say, is no longer to be found.”¹

An added fact or two of interest is given in James Thatcher’s *Military Journal During American Revolution*:

“4th. — The object in view is now generally understood to be the occupying and fortifying of the advantageous heights of Dorchester. A detachment of four troops is ordered to march for this purpose this evening; and our regiment, with several others, has received orders to march at 4 o’clock in the morning, to relieve them. We are favored with a full bright moon, and the night is remarkably mild and pleasant; the preparations are immense; more than three hundred loaded carts are in motion. By the great exertions of General Mifflin, our Quarter Master General, the requisite number of teams has been procured. The covering party of eight hundred men advance in front. Then follow the carts with the entrenching tools; after which, the working party of twelve hundred, commanded by General Thomas, of Kingston. Next in the martial procession is a train of carts, loaded with fascines and hay, screwed into large bundles of seven or eight hundred weight. The whole procession moved on in solemn silence, and with perfect order and regularity; while the continued roar of cannon serves to engage the attention and divert the enemy from the main object.”

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"5th. — " At about four o'clock our regiment followed to the heights of Dorchester, as a relief party. In passing Dorchester Neck I observed a vast number of large bundles of screwed hay, arranged in a line next the enemy, to protect our troops from a raking fire, to which we should have been greatly exposed, while passing and repassing.¹ The carts were still in motion with materials; some of them have made three or four trips. On the heights we found two forts in considerable forwardness, and sufficient for a defence against small arms and grape shot. The amount of labor performed during the night, considering the earth is frozen eighteen inches deep, is almost incredible. Our breast works are strengthened, and among the means of defence are a great number of barrels, filled with stones and sand, arranged in front of our works; which are to be put in motion and made to roll down the hill, to break the ranks and legs of the assailants as they advance. These are the preparations for blood and slaughter! Gracious God! if it be determined in thy Providence that thousands of our fellow creatures shall this day be slain, let thy wrath be appeased, and in mercy grant, that victory be on the side of our suffering, bleeding country."

Henry G. Pickering, Esq., of Boston has kindly referred me to another and one of the most interesting records of experience on this moonlight night. It is the account of his grandfather whose father, John Goddard, was wagon-master-general in charge of the teams that did the hauling:

"The barn [on his father's estate on Goddard Avenue in Brookline and now standing in its original position] was nearly filled with the canteens of the soldiers, which to prevent suspicion, were enclosed by hay in large wagons and carts to resemble loads of hay. The Tories being very much on the alert, and, for their superior knowledge of the country, more troublesome than the British soldiers. . . . My father had men employed in cutting and making fascines [cut in the woods between Dorchester and Milton] to carry onto the hill, and in getting the teams ready to transport all the store for the troops. The time was fixed for

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all to assemble, teams were loaded, but very few (not one of the teamsters) knew their destination. When all was ready and at the time fixed they started in profound silence, not a word to be spoken even to the cattle, and all went on in deathlike quiet towards Dorchester Heights. The enemy was not alarmed until the daylight appeared and the fortification on the "great hill" was visible to them from Boston. The world knows what followed. John Goddard had three hundred teams under his command."

From General Heath's *Memoirs* we get a new fact or two concerning the preparations for taking the Heights; the baled hay came from Chelsea; Mr. Davis, previously mentioned, was author of the barrel idea mentioned by Washington in his letter to Ward of March 2, 1776, quoted in the *Proceedings of 1909*, page 51. Heath wrote on March 1st and 4th as follows:

"*March 1st*: — Several mortars were sent over to Roxbury, and great preparations made to annoy the enemy. Bundles of screwed hay were brought from Chelsea to be used in the works.

"*4th*. — There was an almost incessant roar of cannons and mortars during the night, on both sides.

"The Americans took possession of Dorchester Heights, and nearly completed their works on both the hills by morning. Perhaps there never was so much work done in so short a space of time. The adjoining orchards were cut down to make the abattis; and a very curious and novel mode of defence was added to these works. The hills on which they were erected were steep, and clear of trees and bushes. Rows of barrels filled with earth were placed round the works. They presented only the appearance of strengthening the works; but the real design was, in case the enemy made an attack, to have rolled them down the hill. They would have descended with such increasing velocity, as must have thrown the assailants into the utmost confusion, and have killed and wounded great numbers. This project was suggested by Mr. *William Davis*, merchant, of Boston, to our Generals, who immediately communicated it to the Commander-in-Chief, who highly approved of it, as did all the other officers; but the credit of it is justly due to Mr. *Davis*, and to him the writer gives it."

As pointed out to the writer by Col. H. N. Fisher, the letter quoted which ordered Colonel Putnam to New York is, of itself, the highest tribute to his efficiency, for there was no comparison in the importance of the work to be done at Boston and New York. New York was the key to the Continent. Putnam's work on the Hudson after the capture of Boston was substantial, especially his selection and fortification of West Point. He was ranked by Washington as the best engineer in the American Army, whether French or American. But he was more than a great engineer.

In our Mound Cemetery at Marietta lie — it is claimed — the remains of more Revolutionary Officers than may be found in any other Cemetery in the United States. Prominent among these honored graves rises a modest shaft which commemorates the deeds of Rufus Putnam, chief among these being the solution of the Dorchester Heights problem. But of immeasurably greater moment was his service in organizing the Ohio Company of Associates at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in this city, with the aid of Manasseh Cutler, Gen. Benjamin Tupper, General Parsons and others, which should give the Congress of the United States courage to establish the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River by agreeing to buy land and settle on it and keep that great West true to the principles of the young Republic. This promise made it possible to pass the Ordinance of 1787, which stands, next to the Constitution, the greatest act in our documentary history, and create a New England, in spirit, beyond the Alleghenies. Said President Taft yesterday to the students of Marietta College:

“Marietta was the gateway through which the Democracy of Puritan New England found its way into the Northwest, and well may those descended from this settlement cherish the great memories that it properly awakens in those who are able to trace the great currents which have determined its character, its

growth and its influence. I am a son of Ohio, and I like to believe that the whole State of Ohio, her population, her educational system, her laws, her jurisprudence and everything else that has made her distinguished among the States of the Union has preserved the color and the peculiar excellence of that little society which settled Marietta and which continues it to-day a gem among the communities of a great State, still setting high the standard of simple living, of morality, of religion and of public education."

I cannot come here and ask you to call to mind the services at Boston of this noble Massachusetts' son without bringing you a message from these graves of New England pilgrims who formed that little Society which founded Ohio, one hundred and twenty-two years ago. If they could know the record of these miraculous years, what message would they send back to this great rich Commonwealth of Massachusetts? I think if those unselfish sons of Massachusetts and Connecticut and Rhode Island who went West a century ago to keep that West true to their Fatherland could speak to you to-day, they would demand in words that would give you pause that you of New England of the Twentieth Century shall make New England mean to America now what they made it mean to America in those black critical years when the Alleghenies were looked upon by all the world as the natural boundaries of empire, and when the half-united States were "one Nation today, thirteen tomorrow."

Your shaft on Bunker Hill, friends, means more to us westernized Yankees, than a tribute to the heroes of Breed's Hill. It stands in our eyes a memorial of the spirit of the Puritan love of democracy and independence which, while conspicuous always, was reflected with precious brilliancy from the Sword of Bunker Hill.

Ohio may be, for aught I know, more Yankee to-day, so far as blood is concerned, than the State which possesses

top. The ringing axes in the orchards and swamps around Boston in the days preceding that night explain the miracle away. Instead of being excavated on the hill, those fortifications were brought to the hill. Baled hay ("screwed hay" it was then called) barrels filled with earth, and chandeliers filled with fascines, comprised the fortification which General Howe looked upon in wonder on the morning of the 4th of March. How these were prepared, by whom and when, how transported and located would be a story well worth a place in the annals of the Revolution. It seems clear to the present writer that the key to the entire puzzle was always the chandelier which General Putnam found in General Heath's book. A military friend has suggested that these were used only to fortify the Causeway leading to the Heights. As will be seen, presently, it was the chandeliers that were the principal feature of the fortifications on the hilltops. This carried out the scheme devised by Colonel Putnam, but I believe the documentary evidence is sufficient for us to say that he devised and planned the fortifications which Gridley and Knox built.

The general story of the night is well known.

"The plans and preparations of Washington," wrote Ellis, "for possessing these heights were so deliberate and thorough, so carefully studied in the minutest detail, so conditioned upon alternative and co-operating movements of his own, and upon the action of the enemy, as to prove with what patient and brooding study he had wrought them out. There was in them no suggestion of a surprise, no occasions of hurry and afterthought, no lack of any provision needful for success. Cheerfully, heartily, and without any withholding of needful aid, were his plans and their details advanced by all on whom he relied. Many elemental influences which were baffling to the enemy favored him. His chief difficulty lay in the fact that the ground on the heights was frozen to the depth of eighteen inches, and the next was the exposure of Dorchester Neck, over which his men and means must pass. The

utmost diligence had been previously used by Colonel Mifflin and others to provide these means — three or four hundred ox-teams and carts, large quantities of fascines, chandeliers, bundles of screwed hay to protect the Neck and to aid in the construction of the defences, with barrels fastened together and filled with stones, sand and gravel, for rolling down from the declivities to break the ranks of the assailants. On the evening of Monday, March 4th, a covering and a working party, making 2,000 men, under General Thomas, started on the enterprise, as quietly as possible, the direction of the wind also favoring the secrecy of their motives. It was also a part of the plan to engage the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade on the other side of Boston. By ten o'clock at night the men had raised a fort, proof against small arms and grape-shot, on each of the two farthest elevations, menacing respectively the town, and the Castle and vessels.

"It was a mild, clear night for the season; warm work neutralized the chill air. A full moon overhead was accompanied by a haze settling over the town and lowlands, and veiling the enterprise from the entries of the enemy. A relief party came on at three o'clock in the morning, of Tuesday. Not till some time after daybreak were the works disclosed to the British, and when General Howe gazed at the spectacle, he is said to have declared, in his amazement, that the rebels had done more in a night than his whole army would have accomplished in months. He was at once warned by the Admiral that the completion of the forts would require him to withdraw his vessels from the harbor. Of course the rebels must be dislodged, or he must evacuate the town. The day was the now historic fifth of March, and as it was expected that it would repeat some of the scenes acted on Bunker's Hill, the word passed from Washington as a rallying cry, bidding the provincials remember the day of the 'bloody Massacre.'"¹

Glimpses into the events of that moonlight night are precious because of their rarity. Writes one eyewitness:

"*March 4th.* — 'Going on the Dorchester Neck tonight,' is now the toast of the day. About ten o'clock, took a walk up to the Meeting House, where I learned that a Brig. General, Cols. Witcomb, Reed, and Wyllys, with six other field officers, and two thousand men, properly officered, were to go on to Dorchester

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this night about the middle of the day, a large party of teams made their appearance in camp engaged for our enterprise tonight.

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Bunker Hill, but so dear is an Ideal to human hearts and so lovingly do we cling to cherished beliefs that I will tell you frankly we look to-day to Bunker Hill and its shaft as a sign of what New England shall yet mean to America.

We western Yankees look to see that ancient courage and nobility of devotion steady this great Republic through these trying but marvelous years of commercial stress, and then to play its grandest part in those years when the Nation's eyes shall turn somewhat from the material to the ideal. Your New England factories and mills, your promoters and capitalists are sweeping the wealth of our western country into your coffers. It would be ungracious for me to hint, even, at the vast sums which have come from our trans-Allegheny empire to endow your great universities and libraries and museums and churches and hospitals. You may have heard that when the Creator finished the Earth he sent his angels to look and see if it were good. After a careful review of the marvelously beautiful work they returned to report that all was well save only in Norway and Sweden; there the rocks were left barren of soil. The order went quickly forth to sweep Heaven and scatter the dust upon the barren hills of northern Europe; and the soil of Norway and Sweden to-day is called "the dust of Heaven." In some such way the captains of industry in the caves along the canyons of your great Gold Dust Twins of the East—New York and Boston—are sweeping our western fields and hills and scattering the dust broadcast upon the barren rocks of New England and New York. Never in any Nation since history began, save perhaps only in the city of Rome, has the wealth and prosperity of one portion of a land gone so directly to build up beautiful cities and homes and villas, institutions of learning and charity, in another, as has been true on this Atlantic seaboard in the past generation.

Now this is all for the best — if with your opportunity you take your responsibility. With wealth and power fabulous beyond reckoning, it is for you to show how a Nation may grow rich and not decay — how the rich may become richer and the poor not poorer. Do this for New England, and you will have done it for America. With all the intelligence of the Past as your guide, with a vast proportion of all the wealth the great West has showered and will shower upon you, this, I feel, is a command I can bring you from the graves of those first heroes who made that West a real part of this Republic; fail to solve those two problems here and in this century and we must give over the hope of solving them and with that give up hope — unless the West can do it — of the perpetuity of this Republic.

If the present monumental age of commercialism is, as the history of other Nations prove, the necessary preliminary to an age of development along the higher levels of human ambition, it is for you and your sons to prepare for that sequel in such a way that there shall not come with it — as has come to all Nations in the past — the degeneracy of luxury, and the pitting of the rich growing richer against the poor growing poorer.

God grant that your shaft on Bunker Hill may stand for his greatest and noblest service that New England is yet to exert in the crises that will come when the present age of industrialism passes into that treacherous Golden Age of American art and music and literature — and keep America from the abyss into which the great and rich empires of the past, all have fallen.

LETTER OF MISS ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY

QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS,

April 13, 1877.

THE HONORABLE G. WASHINGTON WARREN.

Dear Sir :—

Allow me to thank you very cordially for the splendid volume you have so kindly bestowed on me, deeply interesting from historic association, and for the counterfeit presentments of many eminent and gifted men I have had the privilege to number among my friends.

From my father's station as mayor of Boston, we became intimately acquainted with Lafayette, and highly enjoyed the enthusiastic demonstrations his presence excited. But the day of Bunker Hill the 17th of June, 1825, formed the climax of interest and excitement. The scene is now before me, as seated near the stage, under the awning over the seats prepared for the ladies, we waited during the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the Monument, we saw the multitude and strains of soft music, a dirge to the memory of the departed, floated on the breezes toward us. The procession then approached; Mr. Webster and other dignitaries ascended the stage, the survivors of the Battle formed a group on the hill just above us, and beside them another was formed of the soldiers of the Revolution, with Lafayette on an elevated chair in the midst of them. Then the banners of the Masons and the standards and uniforms of the military gleamed brightly in the sunlight, and beyond the countless

multitude extending around, above, and below us seemed like a faint representation of that great

“Future day, — when Earth’s assigned duration at an end,
Man shall be summon’d, and the dead attend.”

The prayer of Mr. Thaxter, who had stood on the hill
“When round its base the war cloud curled.”

After a choral hymn of praise, Mr. Webster began his address, but hardly had he spoken a few sentences, when shouts arose from the populace, men began to climb up and tear away the awning that protected us, and there was great danger that the people in their anxiety to hear Mr. Webster would break through the barriers, and destroy all the arrangements. It was an anxious moment, and some ladies fainted from alarm. The police and marshals in vain attempted to restore order. Mr. Webster was much agitated, and said in a tone of deep regret, — “We frustrate our own work.” Then with a sudden impulse he came forward, and said to the marshals in a voice of thunder, — “Be silent yourselves, and the people will obey.” The commotion instantly ceased, and he recommenced his address.

Beside the general excitement of this great day, I had a subject of private interest. Early interested in the fate and character of my grandfather, J. Quincy, Jr., I appreciated the value of his manuscripts, among which there was the only autograph letter of General Warren then known to exist. Anxious for their preservation I privately copied them at Quincy, and formed them into a “Memoir,” to which, with some additions and alterations by my father, he at my earnest request affixed his name. We hurried it through the press, and it was published on the 28th of May, 1825. The work excited surprise, as its preparation was unknown. Three days after it appeared, Mr. Webster came and asked for a copy, saying that there was not one

to be had at the book-stores, and he was writing his address for the 17th, and wished to read every work relative to the early years of the Revolution. When I heard him pronounce the name and quote the words of my grandfather, in this vast assembly, on Bunker Hill, and was afterwards informed that the book which I had prepared was placed in the cornerstone of the Monument, my gratification was intense. My father always intended to publish a memoir of J. Quincy, Jr. when he retired from public life, but immersed in the affairs of the mayoralty, the work would have been delayed for twenty years if I had not begun it.

I hope you will not find my reminiscences too tedious. As you must have been very young on that 17th of June, and if you were present must have been in a very different situation, my experiences may have some interest for you.

I am almost certain I sent you a copy of the third edition of that "Memoir" I published in 1875. If not, please inform me and let me place one in your library.

Very sincerely yours,

ELIZA S. QUINCY.

COLONEL RUFUS PUTNAM AT THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

NOTE BY COLONEL HORACE NEWTON FISHER

Colonel Richard Gridley, Chief Military Engineer of the American Army during the Siege of Boston, was sixty-four years of age at the time of the Battle of Bunker Hill. His distinguished service in the French War had won him a Captain's Commission in the 50th Foot of the British Regular Army in 1745, where his skill as chief of Artillery compelled the Surrender of Louisburg. In 1756 he was Chief of Artillery in the Expedition against Crown Point. In 1759 Wolfe selected him to go to Quebec as his Chief of the Provincial Artillery and in the final battle at the Heights of Abraham he succeeded in hauling up two field pieces which played so important a part that day. At the close of the war he was retired on halfpay and received special honors and emoluments. When the revolution broke out he refused tempting offers to return to active service in the British Army and threw up his halfpay and emoluments.

At Bunker Hill he was severely wounded in the leg near the Rail Fence after the Redoubt was carried; and for his services was appointed Major General by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. After some months of disability because of his wound, he returned to Cambridge and was Washington's Chief Engineer throughout the remainder of the Siege. It was he who planned and executed the works on Dorchester Heights, for which he had collected a vast quantity of fascines, gabions and Chanteliers which were stored in Brook-

line, also baled hay ; it took 300 wagons to transport them to Dorchester Neck, some of the wagons making several trips. Thus it was that the works on Dorchester Heights were raised with such rapidity that General Howe estimated that not less than 12,000 men had been employed on that work. Lieutenant Colonel Rufus Putnam, a Worcester County neighbor of General Artemas Ward, was selected by him as his Chief Engineer; and when Washington took command, General Ward as senior Major General was put in command of the Right Wing at Roxbury — which was scarcely fortified at that time — Ward took Lieutenant Colonel Putnam with him and entrusted him with the fortification of his front. Thus the famous “Roxbury Lines” were built by Colonel Putnam and to him is due the credit. Colonel Henry Knox, an excellent artillery officer, built the strong redoubt on Roxbury heights, back of the Norfolk House where now is the Standpipe Tower. His work so attracted Washington’s notice that he made him Chief of Artillery.

In January 1776 General Lee was sent to New York to prepare its defences and on January 10 General Gates, as Adjutant General on Washington’s staff, instructed General Ward to detail Lieutenant Colonel Putnam to report for duty to General Charles Lee, it being necessary that he should have a “Good Engineer Officer.” No greater praise can be given to Colonel Putnam than that Washington selected him for this very important duty.

In General Washington’s Autograph letter to General Ward of March 3, 1776, giving instructions for the occupation of Dorchester Neck, he said “I shall send Col. Gridley and Colonel Knox tomorrow to lay out and build the Works on Dorchester Heights.”

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

JUNE 1, 1909, TO JUNE 1, 1910

BALANCE, June 1, 1909:—

Income Account	\$25.15	
General Fund	817.42	\$842.57
<hr/>		
INITIATION FEES, from 49 new members		\$245.00
ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT		4,606.00
INTEREST, allowed on Bank Balances		20.98
NOTES PAYABLE		300.00
GENERAL EXPENSE, reimbursed		202.00
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\$6,216.55

CASH ACCOUNT

EXPENDITURES

JUNE 1, 1909, TO JUNE 1, 1910

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00	
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	720.00	
Mary A. Bruce, <i>Clerk</i>	480.00	
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	732.00	
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	250.00	
Francis H. Lincoln, <i>Treasurer</i>	100.00	\$3,182.00

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	243.69	
Fuel	155.25	
Police service on Sundays	35.50	
City of Boston, water rate	30.50	
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —		
in removing snow	\$89.25	
on grounds, fence, and seats	39.00	128.25

Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses at Monument and Lodge	258.21	851.40
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Expense of Annual Meeting and material for Proceedings	33.50	
Greenleaf & Barnes, luncheon at the Vendôme	161.50	
University Press, printing	503.31	
Secretary's office rent, one year	150.00	
Postage, stationery, clerical service, and petty expenses	45.80	
Advertising	8.10	
Insurance	37.88	940.09

INTEREST		82.51
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NOTES PAYABLE		75.00
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BALANCE:—

Income Account	3.69	
General Fund	1,081.86	1,085.55

\$6,216.55

TRIAL BALANCE

Debits			
The Monument	\$133,649.83		
Granite Lodge	<u>37,512.07</u>	\$171,161.90	
Suspense Account		800.00	
Cash		<u>1,085.55</u>	
			<u>\$173,047.45</u>
Credits			
Capital		\$170,161.90	
Notes payable		1,800.00	
Income	\$3.69		
General Fund	<u>1,081.86</u>	1,085.55	
			<u>\$173,047.45</u>

FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1910, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and property of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE }
 GARDINER MARTIN LANE } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 13, 1910.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1908, TO JUNE 1, 1909

FROM THE UNITED STATES

Alabama	130	Nebraska	256
Arkansas	102	Nevada	118
California	865	New Hampshire	1,660
Colorado	321	New Jersey	1,907
Connecticut	1,513	New York	5,429
Delaware	168	North Carolina	108
Florida	199	North Dakota	120
Georgia	213	Ohio	1,176
Idaho	162	Oklahoma	154
Illinois	1,492	Oregon	200
Indiana	402	Pennsylvania	3,275
Iowa	404	Rhode Island	1,222
Kansas	250	South Carolina	127
Kentucky	224	South Dakota	110
Louisiana	158	Tennessee	119
Maine	2,109	Texas	248
Maryland	370	Utah	222
Massachusetts	10,082	Vermont	871
Michigan	546	Virginia	236
Minnesota	347	Washington	261
Mississippi	117	West Virginia	124
Missouri	424	Wisconsin	412
Montana	145	Wyoming	88

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Arizona	34	New Mexico	17
District of Columbia	411		

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Africa	14	Ireland	175
Australia	26	Italy	24
Austria	18	Japan	168
British Columbia	54	Mexico	14
Canada	932	New Zealand	17
Central America	10	Norway and Sweden	19
China	72	Russia	5
Cuba	48	Scotland	71
Denmark	30	South America	5
England	230	Spain	21
France	28	Switzerland	10
Germany	96	Turkey	10
Honolulu	6	Wales	13
India	3	West India	17

From the United States	39,186
From Territories of the United States	462
From Foreign Countries	2,136

Total 41,784

Board of Directors

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION

CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL . . .	1897
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1868	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN . . .	1873	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1897
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE . . .	1874	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH . . .	1897
HENRY WALKER	1874	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON . . .	1898
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER . . .	1875	JAMES DE NORMANDIE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1900
HENRY HERBERT EDES . . .	1875	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL . .	1900
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS		GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT . .	1900
MARVIN	1882	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN . . .	1883	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER . .	1902
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY BOD-FISH	1885	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS . .	1902
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE .	1886	FREDERICK LEWIS GAY . . .	1902
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL	1887	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR. . .	1902
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE .	1887	CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD .	1903
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN . . .	1889	FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER . .	1903
JOHN LATHROP	1890	NATHANIEL THAYER	1903
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS . .	1891	CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM . . .	1904
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN (<i>Treasurer</i>)	1905
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND . . .	1893	MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON .	1906
HENRY ERNEST WOODS . . .	1894	GARDINER MARTIN LANE . . .	1906
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1895	CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	1907
ARTHUR AMORY	1895	WALDO LINCOLN	1907
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	JOHN DAVIS LONG (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1908
HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895	ARTHUR LORD	1908
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL	1895	CHARLES EDWARDS PARK . . .	1908
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Secretary</i>)	1896	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER . .	1909
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES . .	1897	JOSEPH WARREN	1909
		FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON . .	1910
		JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT . . .	1910

STANDING COMMITTEE

1910-1911

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, *President*,
FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, *Treasurer*,
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary*, } *Ex Officiis.*

HENRY HERBERT EDES.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

JOHN LATHROP.

JAMES DE NORMANDIE.

SAMUEL LÖTHROP THORNDIKE.

CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN.

GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.

ARTHUR LORD.

HONORARY MEMBERS

1888.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.
DOUGLAS PUTNAM.
DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.

1891.

WHITELAW REID.

1893.

HORACE PORTER.

1894.

ANDREW ELLICOTT KENNEDY
BENHAM.

1895.

GASTON DE SAHUNE DE LAFAYETTE.

1910.

JEAN JULES JUSSELAND.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

A.

Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
Charles Allen.
John Albree.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Charles W. Amory.
Edward Linzee Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
William Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Francis Henry Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.

Horace Sargent Bacon.
William Bacon.
Alvin Richards Bailey.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.
James Warren Bailey.
Ezra Henry Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Francis Reginald Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
John George Barker.
Elmer Walter Barron.
Frank Trask Barron.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
Willis Carroll Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Boylston Adams Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
Stoughton Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Josiah Henry Benton.
William Emery Bicknell.
Charles Wesley Birtwell.
Clarence John Blake.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel May Boardman.

Joshua Peter Langley Bodfish.	Charles Favour Byam.
Joel Carlton Bolan.	Charles Ruthven Byram.
Charles Knowles Bolton.	
John Bordman.	C.
Walter Lincoln Bouvé.	Arthur Tracy Cabot.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.	Louis Cabot.
Henry Pickering Bowditch.	Eliot Lincoln Caldwell.
George Gardner Bradford.	Joseph Henry Caldwell.
William Burroughs Bradford.	Grosvenor Calkins.
Frank Eliot Bradish.	Donald McLennan Cameron.
Henry Willard Bragg.	George Hylands Campbell.
Edward Walter Branigan.	Rufus George Frederick Candage
Frank Brewster.	Guy Edward Carleton.
John Frederick Flemmich	William Dudley Carleton.
Brewster.	Samuel Carr.
John Franklin Briry.	Charles Theodore Carruth.
Alfred Mansfield Brooks.	Henry Horatio Chandler.
Charles Butler Brooks.	Edward Channing.
Edward Brooks.	Walter Channing.
Lawrence Brooks.	George Francis Chapin.
Peter Chardon Brooks.	Charles Augustus Chase.
Shepherd Brooks.	William Franklin Cheney.
Francis Henry Brown.	Charles Greenough Chick.
George Edward Brown.	Munroe Chickering.
Gilbert Patten Brown.	Charles Francis Choate.
Howard Nicholson Brown.	William Worcester Churchill.
Joseph Henry Brown.	Arthur Tirrell Clark.
Louis Francis Brown.	David Oakes Clark.
Herbert Wheildon Browne.	Robert Farley Clark.
Thomas Quincy Browne.	Arthur French Clarke.
Frederick Alexander Bucking-	George Kuhn Clarke.
ham.	Hermann Frederick Clarke.
George Greenleaf Bulfinch.	Charles Warren Clifford.
Alfred Monson Bullard.	James David Coady.
George Edwin Bullard.	Darius Cobb.
Augustus George Bullock.	Charles Henry Coburn.
Samuel James Bullock.	Charles Russell Codman.
George Henry Burr.	Rufus Coffin.
John Foster Bush.	Harrison Gray Otis Colby.

William Ogilvie Comstock.
Charles Allerton Coolidge.
Ernest Hall Coolidge.
Frederic Austin Coolidge.
George Augustin Coolidge.
Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
John Joseph Copp.
Joseph John Corbett.
Edward Jones Cox.
Edwin Sanford Crandon.
George Glover Crocker.
George Uriel Crocker.
Clifford Fenton Crosby.
James Allen Crosby.
Prentiss Cummings.
Henry Winchester Cunningham.
Charles Pelham Curtis.
John Silsbee Curtis.
Frederic Haines Curtiss.
Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

D.

James Dana.
Richard Henry Dana.
Thomas Dana.
Henry William Daniell.
Edwin Alfred Daniels.
Charles Kimball Darling.
Francis Henry Davenport.
George Howe Davenport.
Andrew McFarland Davis.
Bancroft Gherardi Davis.
Horace Davis.
John George Dearborn.
Henry Beals Dennison.
Joseph Waldo Denny.
Charles Lunt De Normandie.
James De Normandie.
Philip Yardley De Normande.

Robert Lambert De Normandie.
Arthur Lithgow Devens.
Richard Devens.
Franklin Dexter.
Gordon Dexter.
Morton Dexter.
Philip Dexter.
William Sohier Dexter.
Marquis Fayette Dickinson.
Pitt Dillingham.
Charles Healy Ditson.
Horace Dodd.
Edward Sherman Dodge.
Frank Albert Dodge.
Arthur Walter Dolan.
Eben Sumner Draper.
Charles Acton Drew.
Loren Griswold Du Bois.
Walter H. Dugan.
Henry Dorr Dupee.
Theodore Francis Dwight.
Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.
Henry Herbert Edes.
Robert Thaxter Edes.
Horace Albert Edgecomb.
Moses Grant Edmands.
James Eells.
Elisha Doane Eldredge.
Samuel Atkins Eliot.
Arthur Blake Ellis.
George Henry Ellis.
Ephraim Emerton.
Robert Wales Emmons, 2d.
Eugene Francis Endicott.
William Endicott.
Carl Wilhelm Ernst.

Harold Clarence Ernst.
George William Evans.
Edward Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
Henry Parker Fairbanks.
William Kendall Fairbanks.
Augustus Alanson Fales.
John Whittemore Farwell.
Henry Gregg Fay.
Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.
William Wallace Fenn.
George Prentice Field.
Horace Cecil Fisher.
Horace Newton Fisher.
Worthington Chauncey Ford.
Alfred Dwight Foster.
Francis Apthorp Foster.
Francis Charles Foster.
John Andrews Fox.
Walter Sylvanus Fox.
Henry Adams Frothingham.
John Whipple Frothingham.
Joseph La Forme Frothingham.
Paul Revere Frothingham.
Richard Frothingham.
Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
Henry Holton Fuller.
Robert Morton Fullerton.
Dawes Eliot Furness.

G.

Charles Theodore Gallagher.
Ernest Lewis Gay.
Frederick Lewis Gay.
George Washington Gay.
Charles Gibson.

Isaac Stebbins Gilbert.
Shepard Devereux Gilbert.
Charles Snelling Gill.
George Lincoln Goodale.
Abner Cheney Goodell.
John Gott.
Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
Robert Grant.
Charles Montraville Green.
Robert Montraville Green.
Samuel Abbott Green.
Samuel Swett Green.
William Prescott Greenlaw.
William Elliot Griffis.
Charles Edward Grinnell.
Courtenay Guild.
Curtis Guild.
Curtis Guild, Jr.

H.

Edward Hale.
Richard Walden Hale.
Robert Sever Hale.
Edward Henry Hall.
Franklin Austin Hall.
Thomas Hills Hall.
Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
Charles Sumner Hamlin.
Henry Mason Harper.
Walter Leo Harrington.
Samuel Tibbetts Harris.
Thaddeus William Harris.
Thomas Norton Hart.
William Henry Hart.
Henry Hastings.
Albert Fearing Hayden.
Henry Williamson Haynes.
Frank Conant Hayward.
Augustus Hemenway.

Joseph Putnam Bradlee
Henshaw.
Everett Carleton Herrick.
Eben Newell Hewins.
Philip Hichborn.
Lewis Wilder Hicks.
Francis Lee Higginson.
Henry Lee Higginson.
Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
James Frederic Hill.
William Henry Hill.
Thomas Hills.
Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
Freeman Hinckley.
Samuel Parker Hinckley.
George Miller Hobbs.
Joshua Bennett Holden.
Charles Bradley Holman.
Oliver Wendell Holmes.
Robert Homans.
Edward Augustus Horton.
Clement Stevens Houghton.
Archibald Murray Howe.
Edward Willard Howe
Charles Warren Howland.
Edwin Howland.
Albert Harrison Hoyt.
Charles Wells Hubbard.
Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
Richard Clapp Humphreys.
James Frothingham Hunnewell.
James Melville Hunnewell.
Francis William Hurd.
George Frederick Hurd.
Charles Lewis Hutchins.
Constantine Foundoulaki
Hutchins.
Edward Webster Hutchins.
John Hurd Hutchins.

George Hutchinson.
Winfield Scott Hutchinson.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
George Brimmer Inches.

J.

Henry Percy Jaques.
Benjamin Joy Jeffries.
Charles William Jenks.
Henry Angier Jenks.
Henry Fitch Jenks.
George Franklin Jewett.
Edward Francis Johnson.
Wolcott Howe Johnson.
Jerome Jones.
William Frederick Jones.
Henry Gregory Jordan.
Franklin Lawrence Joy.

K.

Andrew Paul Keith.
William Vail Kellen.
Prentiss Mellen Kent.
George Adams Kettell.
Camillus George Kidder.
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
David Pulsifer Kimball.
Herbert Wood Kimball.
Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
George Lyman Kittredge.
Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
Walter Alexander Ladd.

William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Henry Lefavour.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 Wilford Jacob Litchfield.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Thomas Leonard Livermore.
 William Roscoe Livermore.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Arthur Lord.
 Calvin Lord.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 William Wallace Lunt.

Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.
 William Henry Lyon.

M.

Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Edward McLellan.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 William Theophilus Rogers
 Marvin.
 John Reginold Marvin.
 Charles Frank Mason.
 Albert Matthews.
 Nathan Matthews.
 Frederick Goddard May.
 Frank Merriam.
 Albert Brown Merrill.
 Roger Bigelow Merriman.
 Thomas Minns.
 Joseph Grafton Minot.
 George Mixer.
 Samuel Jason Mixer.
 Godfrey Morse.
 John Torrey Morse, Jr.
 William Russell Morse.
 James Madison Morton.
 Marcus Morton.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Edward Augustus Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.
 Frederick Strong Moseley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.
 James Gregory Mumford.

N.

Francis Philip Nash.
 Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.

Arthur Howard Nichols.
John Noble.
Joseph Warren Noble.
Grenville Howland Norcross.
Otis Norcross.
Henry Frothingham Noyes.
James Atkins Noyes.
Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

William Herbert Oakes.
John James O'Callaghan.
William Henry O'Connell.
James Monroe Olmstead.
Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
Francis Augustus Osborn.
William Newton Osgood.
Herbert Foster Otis.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
Walter Gilman Page.
Nathaniel Paine.
Robert Treat Paine.
Charles Edwards Park.
Eben Francis Parker.
Frederick Wesley Parker.
Herbert Parker.
Moses Greeley Parker.
Percy Parker.
Peter Parker.
William Prentiss Parker.
Henry Parkman.
Leighton Parks.
James Parker Parmenter.
Charles Sumner Parsons.
Andrew Warren Patch.

John Endicott Peabody.
Frederick Pease.
Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
Alvah Henry Peters.
Frederick George Pettigrove.
Stephen Willard Phillips.
Edward Charles Pickering.
William Henry Pickering.
Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
Phineas Pierce.
Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
David Pingree.
William Taggard Piper.
Edward Marwick Plummer.
George Arthur Plympton.
Charles Hunt Porter.
Robert Marion Pratt.
Rufus Prescott.
Walter Conway Prescott.
Frank Perley Prichard.
Charles Pickering Putnam.
George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
Arnold Augustus Rand.
Edward Melvin Raymond.
Charles French Read.
Philip Reade.
Alanson Henry Reed.
Reuben Law Reed.
Joseph Warren Revere.
James Ford Rhodes.

Franklin Pierce Rice.
 William Ball Rice.
 William Reuben Richards.
 Amor Hollingsworth Richardson.
 Gedney King Richardson.
 Parker Jones Richardson.
 Spencer Cumston Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 William Cumston Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.
 William Minard Richardson.
 Arthur Rhodes Robertson.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 John Robinson.
 William Robinson.
 James Hardy Ropes.
 George Ivison Ross.
 George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 Arthur Prentiss Rugg.
 Frank Rumrill.
 William Stanton Rumrill.
 Thomas Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 Edward Keyes Sawyer.
 George Sawyer.
 Warren Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 William Hunt Seabury.
 Joseph Henry Sears.
 Thomas Oliver Selfridge.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 William Green Shillaber.

Abraham Shuman.
 Howard Livingston Shurtleff.
 William Simes.
 William Stearns Simmons.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Denison Rogers Slade.
 Arthur Reinhardt Smith.
 Benjamin Farnham Smith.
 Charles Card Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith, Jr.
 Frank Langdon Smith.
 Franklin Webster Smith.
 Jeremiah Smith.
 Mark Edward Smith.
 Sidney Leroy Smith.
 Charles Armstrong Snow.
 Charles Carroll Soule.
 Robert Alexander Southworth.
 Arthur John Clark Sowdon.
 Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Philo Woodruff Sprague.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Roderick Stebbins.
 Solon Whithed Stevens.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 Lincoln Ripley Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Augustus Whittemore Stover.
 Willis Whittemore Stover.
 Charles Edwin Stratton.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 William Willard Swan.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.

Lindsay Swift.
Allen Swift.

T.

Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.
Eugene Van Rensselaer Thayer.
Ezra Ripley Thayer.
John Eliot Thayer.
Nathaniel Thayer.
William Roscoe Thayer.
Washington Butcher Thomas.
John Thompson.
Albert Thorndike.
John Larkin Thorndike.
Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
James Brown Thornton.
Walter Eliot Thwing.
Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
James Pike Tolman.
Everett Torrey.
Edward Britton Townsend.
David Howard Tribou.
Washington Benson Trull.
George Fox Tucker.
George Frederick Tufts.
Nathan Fitz Tufts.
Henry Augustus Turner.
John Franklin Turner.
Julius Herbert Tuttle.
Edward Royall Tyler.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.

W.

Frederick August Walker.
Henry Walker.
Henshaw Bates Walley.
Eugene Wambaugh.

Frank Edwards Warner.
Joseph Bangs Warner.
Charles Warren.
Edward Ross Warren.
Henry Lee Jaques Warren.
John Warren.
John Collins Warren.
Joseph Warren.
Lucius Henry Warren.
Nathan Warren.
William Fairfield Warren.
Winslow Warren.
Walter Kendall Watkins.
Thomas Russell Watson.
Winslow Charles Watson.
Charles Goddard Weld.
Stephen Minot Weld.
Alfred Easton Wellington.
Frederick Augustus Wellington.
Jonas Francis Wellington.
Arthur Holbrook Wellman.
Joshua Wyman Wellman.
Barrett Wendell.
Robert Dickson Weston.
Thomas Weston.
Thomas Weston, Jr.
Winthrop Wetherbee.
Henry Wheeler.
Horace Leslie Wheeler.
Edmund March Wheelwright.
George William Wheelwright.
William Gleason Wheildon.
Bradlee Whidden.
Renton Whidden.
Stephen Hampden Whidden.
Edwin Augustus White.
James Clarke White.
William Edwin White.
William A. Whiting.

James Henry Whitman.
William Whitman.
David Rice Whitney.
James Lyman Whitney.
Morris Fearing Whiton.
George Clark Whittemore.
Albert Rufus Whittier.
George Wigglesworth.
Henry Crafts Wiley.
Arthur Walter Willard.
Levi Lincoln Willcutt.
William Lithgow Willey.
Charles Herbert Williams.
George Frederick Williams.
Henry Morland Williams.
Holder Pierce Williams.
Horace Dudley Hall Williams.

Joseph Williams.
Moses Williams.
Robert Breck Williams.
Stillman Pierce Williams.
Albert Edward Winship.
William Henry Winship.
Erving Winslow.
Robert Mason Winthrop.
Roger Wolcott.
Samuel Huntington Wolcott.
William Prescott Wolcott.
George Gregerson Wolkins.
Henry Ernest Woods.
Frank Ernest Woodward.
Frank Vernon Wright.
George Wellman Wright.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1912



BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
MDCCCXII

University Press :
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

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PROCEEDINGS

BOSTON, June 17, 1912.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held this day at 10 o'clock at the Hotel Vendôme, in Boston.

The President, DR. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, occupied the chair.

Prayer was offered by Reverend CHARLES WILLIAM WENDTE, D.D., of Boston.

The Record of the last Annual Meeting was read and approved.

The President then delivered his Annual Address.

The Vice-President, Honorable WINSLOW WARREN, addressed the Association on "The Struggle of Thirteen States for Thirteen Years to create a Government."

The report of the Treasurer, JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, Esq., which had been audited by a committee consisting of Messrs. HENRY E. WOODS and CHARLES F. READ, was read and approved.

SHEPARD D. GILBERT, Esq., a member of the Association, presented the Commission of JOSEPH GILBERT, Colonel of the 4th regiment of militia in the County of

Worcester. The gift was accepted, and the thanks of the Association were voted to Mr. Gilbert.

The Secretary announced the reception of a volume of signatures (made at the Monument between 1852 and 1858) which antedates any of the volumes already in hand; this volume had been in the custody of Hon. George Washington Warren, a former President of the Association.

A gift to the Association from the Bunker Hill Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of a portrait of RALPH FARNHAM, believed to have been the last survivor of the Battle of Bunker Hill, was received, and the thanks of the Association were voted to the donors.

It was voted that the addresses of the President and Mr. WARREN, with other papers, be referred to the Standing Committee for publication at its discretion.

The Association then elected as Resident Members the persons recommended by the Standing Committee.

The Chair appointed as a Nominating Committee Messrs. CHARLES M. GREEN, GEORGE V. LEVERETT and CHARLES F. READ, and, on their recommendation, the officers named on page 11 were elected by ballot.

Mr. CHARLES BUTLER BROOKS showed an original paper, passed in Convention in North Carolina, recommending to the Legislature of that State the passage of a law providing for collecting a tax on goods imported into that State and appropriating the money thus collected for the use of Congress. This action was in-

tended to hasten the admission of North Carolina into the union of the States.

Judge HENRY N. BLAKE of Milton, for forty years in the practice of law in Montana and recently returned to Massachusetts, called attention to the fact that the time-honored addresses of Webster and others, with the patriotic and martial selections familiar to all New England boys were now omitted from the readers and other school books, on the plea that they incited the minds of the youth of the day to warlike thoughts and ideas.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS

President

JOHN COLLINS WARREN

Vice-Presidents

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
WINSLOW WARREN

JOHN DAVIS LONG
JAMES DE NORMANDIE

Treasurer

JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT

Secretary

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN

Directors

FREDERIC AMORY
FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY BODFISH
EDWARD BROOKS
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE
CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN
CHARLES ALLERTON COOLIDGE
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS
HENRY HERBERT EDES
WILLIAM ENDICOTT
WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
HENRY FITCH JENKS
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL

MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
GARDINER MARTIN LANE
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE — died later
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE
WILLIAM LAWRENCE
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT
WALDO LINCOLN
ARTHUR LORD
THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN
THOMAS MINNS
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
FREDERICK STRONG MOSELEY
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND
WILLIAM LAMBERT RICHARDSON
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL
MOORFIELD STOREY
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
HENRY WALKER
JOSEPH WARREN
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH
HENRY ERNEST WOODS

Board of Directors

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION

CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON . . .	1898
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1868	JAMES DE NORMANDIE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1900
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN . .	1873	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL . .	1900
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE . .	1874	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT . .	1900
HENRY WALKER	1874	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER . .	1875	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER . .	1902
HENRY HERBERT EDES . .	1875	ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS . .	1902
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS		FREDERICK LEWIS GAY . . .	1902
MARVIN	1882	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR. . .	1902
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD . .	1903
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN . .	1883	FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER . .	1903
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY BOD- FISH	1885	CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM . .	1904
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE .	1886	MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON . .	1906
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE .	1887	GARDINER MARTIN LANE . .	1906
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN . . .	1889	CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	1907
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS . .	1891	WALDO LINCOLN	1907
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	JOHN DAVIS LONG (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1908
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND . .	1893	ARTHUR LORD	1908
HENRY ERNEST WOODS . . .	1894	CHARLES EDWARDS PARK . .	1908
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1895	WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER . .	1909
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	JOSEPH WARREN	1909
HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895	FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON . .	1910
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTON- STALL	1895	JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT (<i>Treas-urer</i>)	1910
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Secretary</i>)	1896	WILLIAM LAWRENCE	1911
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES . .	1897	THOMAS MINNS	1911
MOORFIELD STOREY	1897	FREDERIC STRONG MOSELEY	1911
WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1897	WILLIAM LAMBERT RICHARDSON	1911
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH . .	1897	CHARLES ALLERTON COOLIDGE	1911
		FREDERIC AMORY	1912
		WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR. . . .	1912

STANDING COMMITTEE

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, <i>President</i>	}	<i>Ex Officiis</i>
JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, <i>Treasurer</i>		
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, <i>Secretary</i>		
HENRY HERBERT EDES		
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS		
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE		
HENRY ERNEST WOODS		
JAMES DE NORMANDIE		
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN		
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT		
ARTHUR LORD		
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH		

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

It has been my custom for the last few years to announce to you at our annual meeting the age of this Association. It is to-day celebrating its eighty-ninth anniversary. We are consequently entering upon the ninetieth year of its existence, and it will not be long before the last decade of the century has been reached.

The most important event which occurred to the Association during the past year was the death of our Treasurer, Mr. Lincoln, under whose administration the Association had been making a gallant effort to free itself from indebtedness which had slowly encroached upon its resources, owing to changed conditions attendant upon the customs of visitors to our various points of historic interest. Last year Mr. Lincoln was able to show a slight increase in our annual income, and this, together with your generous aid, placed the Association practically free from debt. Meanwhile the nucleus of a General Fund composed of initiation fees of new members has gradually increased to a respectable sum (\$1651.89). Mr. Lincoln's sudden and unexpected death rendered the task of continuing his work during the past year one of some difficulty. I am happy, therefore, to be able to announce that we have secured the services as Treasurer of this Association of Mr. Joseph Grafton Minot, Governor of the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars, whose historical and business qualifications eminently fit him for this position.

As Mr. Lincoln's reports have shown, there has been a steady falling off in the receipts during the past five years until last year, when there was a slight increase. As you will

see by the Treasurer's statement, the amount this year is \$4142.05, which represents the actual sum received from the purchase of tickets to the monument, so that, although this sum is smaller than in previous years, we are fairly well holding our own, and it would have been possible to make a gratifying report had it not been for the unusual meteorological conditions which have prevailed during the last spring and winter months, which have been a serious obstacle to additions to the visitors' list to the Monument this year. No plan has been brought forward by your Board of Directors toward the solution of the financial problem, as was suggested in my last address, for the reasons here indicated. Our new Treasurer, however, is considering the situation in a characteristically energetic way, and we shall hope at our next annual meeting to be able to make a more definite and interesting statement of the business affairs of this Association.

After several years of careful study the Board of Directors prepared an inscription (which was elaborated by the Standing Committee), to be placed upon the interior wall of the Lodge, giving a brief historical statement of the work of this Association. This was finally approved by the Standing Committee last June, and during the past season has been placed upon the southeast wall of the Lodge. It is here given.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

incorporated in the year 1823
built this monument
in commemoration of the battle
fought on this spot between the Provincial militia
and British regulars
on June 17th 1775
and of the patriots
who here imperilled or sacrificed their lives

In 1794 King Solomon's Lodge
of Free and Accepted Masons placed a monument
to General Joseph Warren and his associates
on the spot where he fell
The land on which it stood was given by James Russell
to the Lodge and in 1825 by the Lodge to the Association

The corner stone of Bunker Hill monument
was laid in the presence of Lafayette
on June 17th 1825
and an oration was then delivered by Daniel Webster

The plans were drawn by
Solomon Willard an eminent architect
who gave his personal attention to the work
through the whole period of its construction

By means of contributions from patriotic men and women
in all parts of the United States
the monument was completed and dedicated
on June 17th 1843

This seems to have met a long-felt want, and I am glad to be able to report that the work in which I have been engaged in re-arranging the interior of the Lodge has now reached a fair stage of completion and should be, from an historical point of view, far more interesting to the visiting tourist.

Owing to the courtesy of Mrs. A. Lincoln Bowles, the Association has come into the possession of a framed portrait of Ralph Farnham, the last survivor of the battle of Bunker Hill, an account of whose last visit to Bunker Hill I gave in a recent address.¹ This portrait, formerly in the possession of Mrs. Myles Standish, is the gift of the Bunker Hill Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and will be an interesting and valuable addition to our historical exhibit.

Since our last meeting we have lost three representative

¹ Proceedings Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1909, p. 19.

members from our Board of Directors, all of them men of a type which, it gives us satisfaction to feel, is a characteristic feature of our membership. They represent the best of that old American stock, whose records date back into early periods of our Colonial history.

ARTHUR AMORY was born in Boston on April 6th, 1841. He was the son of James Sullivan and Mary Copley (Greene) Amory. He died in Boston, August 9th, 1911. He was descended from Thomas Amory of Limerick, Ireland, Charleston, S. C., and the Azores, who settled at Boston in 1720. He fitted for college in Epes S. Dixwell's Private Latin School, graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1862 and received also an A.M. degree. While an undergraduate, he visited Greenland in 1860 with a scientific expedition from Williams College.

Shortly after graduating he went into business in New York with Messrs. Slade & Colby, where he remained three years and then became a partner in the firm of Upham, Tucker & Company. He later became senior partner in the dry goods business under the firm-name of Amory, Brown & Company. He belonged to a family related to manufacturing interests in New England, and was a director in a large number of mills and manufacturing companies.

He was married on the 6th of June, 1866, to Miss E. W. Ingersoll, the daughter of Charles Ingersoll of Philadelphia.

As a school boy I came in personal contact with him, and recall him as the one of a group of brothers of a quiet, retired temperament, and full of courtesy and consideration for his playmates and later on in life his companions and associates. This quality he seemed to have been the one to inherit from his father, whose personality in this respect left a strong impression upon me.

Mr. Amory was of a strong mechanical bent of mind, which

showed itself in many ingenious contrivances in his schoolboy life, and afterwards in the many useful conveniences which he introduced into his own home surroundings. This trait seemed to fit him pre-eminently well for his chosen calling.

Although a reserved man, he was extremely social in his tastes. In college he belonged to the Porcellian Club and to the Hasty Pudding Club and later in life to the Somerset Club, to many yacht clubs, to the Club of Odd Volumes and the Wednesday Evening Club.

He was a conscientious member of this Association, attended the meetings of the Board of Directors, and appeared with great regularity at our annual gathering. As I look around I miss his quiet sympathetic face amongst my audience.

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN was born at Hingham on the 14th of April, 1846. He was the son of Solomon and Mehit-able (Lincoln) Lincoln. He died at the Deaconess Hospital on July 7th, 1911. He was descended from Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, England, who settled at Hingham, Mass., in 1637, from whom it is also interesting to note was descended Abraham Lincoln. He was a brother of Solomon and Arthur Lincoln. His great-grandfather, Jesse Bates of Hingham, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

He attended the Derby Academy in Hingham and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1867, of which he became Secretary in 1873, remaining as such from his election to that office to the time of his death. He received the degree of A.M. from Harvard College in 1871.

The greater part of his business career was devoted to real estate and insurance, in which he was actively engaged at the time of his death. He was President of the Hingham Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Vice-President of the Hingham

Institution for Savings, and Treasurer of the American Unitarian Association, Trustee of the Hingham Public Library, and member and trustee of numerous charitable, philanthropic, patriotic, and historical organizations. He was moderator of the Hingham town meeting for an unbroken period of twenty-five years, from 1882 to 1906. He was also for six years Treasurer of this Association, succeeding Mr. G. Arthur Hilton.

His sudden and unexpected death, coming as it did at a time when our financial problems needed the benefit of his ripe experience, was a great loss to this Association. This loss we share with many other ancient guilds and bodies, which leaned upon him for counsel and guidance.

His brother, as you well know, was Vice-President of this Association and occasionally presided at its meetings. He bore an honored name, intimately associated with the traditions of this Association, and one which we are loath to sever from our list of membership.

He married in Hingham, June 1st, 1875, Annie F. Baker, who, with one son, Francis Henry Lincoln, Jr., of Milwaukee, survives him.

SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE was one of the oldest and most loyal members of this Association. He was born at Beverly, December 28th, 1829, and died at Weston on June 18th, 1911. He was descended from John Thorndike of Great Carleton, Lincolnshire, England, one of the early settlers of Ipswich in 1763, and later of that part of Salem which is now Beverly. He was married in Cambridge, on November 2nd, 1859, to Miss Anna Lamb Wells, the daughter of Chief Justice Wells of the Court of Common Pleas.

As a child he was educated in Beverly Academy and later became a Boston Latin School boy. He bore the titles of

A.B. and A.M. of Harvard College, having graduated with the class of 1852, and LL.B. in the Harvard Law School. He was President of the Hasty Pudding Club in 1870, Deputy Marshal of the Porcellian Club, and he was also a member of the Phi Beta Kappa.

Previous to the study of his profession, he made, in companionship with W. Sturgis Hooper, a voyage around the world in a sailing ship.

He was admitted to the Suffolk bar January 11th, 1855, and was at first an assistant of Sidney Bartlett. He became associated in 1861 with William H. Gardiner, and their partnership continued until the latter's death in 1882. He practiced in Boston, making a specialty of bankruptcy, and became a Registrar of Bankruptcy.

He was a member of the old Cambridge Shakespeare Society, of the Colonial Society, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was also a member of the Somerset, Union and St. Botolph Clubs. He was presiding officer at one time of the Harvard Musical Association and of the Cecilia, and an officer of the Handel and Haydn Society and other musical organizations. He was a member of the Grand Lodge of Masons.

The President of the Massachusetts Historical Society says of him: "He was essentially what Dr. Johnson defines as a clubable man, that is, his instincts were allowed free play. Entertaining, companionable, he had engaging manners, with a keen sense of humor; an attractive personality, instinctively a gentleman in feeling as well as in bearing, Mr. Thorndike will be borne in mind in the recollections of the few who are left who were fortunate enough to be his associates through his long and useful, though in no way eventful, life."

My personal relations with him were those of a younger man to one who was much his senior. One could never fail to be attracted by his refined and courteous bearing and his

sympathetic and businesslike manner of approaching any question that was the occasion for an interview with him.

Dying as he did suddenly of an acute disease the day after our annual meeting, our board was unexpectedly deprived of another sterling member. May we always be as fortunate in filling a vacancy on our board as we were on the occasion when he was elected to that body.

ADDRESS
OF
HONORABLE WINSLOW WARREN

THE STRUGGLE OF THIRTEEN STATES FOR THIRTEEN YEARS TO CREATE A GOVERNMENT

1776-1789

BY HON. WINSLOW WARREN

A casual reading of the Declaration of Independence may well give the impression that with its promulgation there and then the United States were born and a new American Nation created.

In a sense it was the birth of the United States; but nothing can be farther from the actual fact than that it created a Nation. It proclaimed nothing but the existence thereafter of Thirteen Independent States, if they could maintain themselves, although it contained within itself certain ideals which were to be the basis of a future Nation. Other than that, it was but a statement of grievances against the King of England, some of them complaints of the very efforts he was making to suppress the rising rebellion, and some of a very shadowy and unsubstantial nature, serving as a general proclamation to the world of the causes or pretexts for revolution.

Had the fortunes of war proved adverse, history would have regarded it as a mere *brutum fulmen* — however full of dynamite it might have proved to its signers — and matters would have resumed their normal channels as in the case of other unsuccessful revolutions. The nearest approach to the establishment of a government was in the contemporaneous appointment of a committee of one from each

of the Thirteen Colonies June 10, 1776, to report to Congress Articles of Confederation; but five years passed by before that committee presented its report and secured its adoption; and, as we shall see, the Articles then proved but a feeble rope of sand.

After July 4, 1776, there were nominally independent States, but no Nation for years to come; and the lack of any cohesive governing body with actual power nearly brought to ruin the hopes engendered by the Declaration.

Frothingham, in his *Rise of the Republic*, well says: "By the Declaration of Independence the sovereignty of Thirteen Colonies passed from the Crown to the People dwelling in them, not as an aggregate body but as forming States endowed with the functions necessary for their separate existence, also States in Union."

States in Union they were to a certain extent, and theoretically endowed with the necessary functions; but the nature of the Union, its powers and purposes, and its reality as a Nation were yet to be determined.

To understand the situation and the results following the Declaration, it is necessary to consider the causes underlying it and the course of events preceding it, and more particularly those of the few years immediately before its promulgation, when the controversies which in different forms and places had so long been raging in the Colonies rapidly approached a culmination.

As far as Massachusetts was concerned, the quarrel with Great Britain may be said to have fairly begun almost with the settlement of the Colony, for there was hardly a time from the very beginning when she was not engaged in disputes with the mother country over Charters or Navigation Acts and Acts of Trade, or over the appointment of Royal officers, or over claims of Parliamentary powers openly or covertly resisted; and outbursts of actual violence and re-

sistance had not been infrequent in all her history. Her Colonial Governors and Assemblies had early announced that Acts of Parliament were not binding unless approved by local assemblies, and that was essentially the doctrine which was the very gist of the American Revolution.

The long-continued indifference of the mother country to the assumption by the various Colonies of the right in large measure to legislate for themselves, had undoubtedly fostered a spirit of independence, which broke forth in open opposition when the British Parliament attempted to assume powers which, if they existed at all, had been so long dormant that to the Colonists their assertion could only appear as uncalled-for interference with the natural rights of free men. Duties upon imports into the Colonies had been imposed by Great Britain long before 1765, and by many Statutes; Royal officers had been appointed by the Crown; — the logical difference between this right of external taxation and that of internal taxation by stamp duties is not easy to define, and the more probable explanation of what followed the legislation from 1765 on is that the spirit of revolt was in the air and that the impatience of British authority had reached such a point that Acts of Parliament which earlier might not have been violently opposed, now aroused a people grown conscious of their own strength, and who, almost unknown to themselves, had begun to look upon independence as their right and ultimate destiny. Not, of course, that the question of independence had assumed a definite shape or become an acknowledged principle of action; but the feeling was there, and by force of circumstances every step taken in assertion of Colony rights led straight to that goal.

Some form of Union of the Colonies had been agitated for years. In 1754 a Congress of the Colonies met for conference, but without positive results; and in 1765 a Congress

in New York, attended by delegates from nine Colonies, had gone so far as to issue a Declaration of Rights, and to take rather suggestive steps towards consolidating the people in defence of their imperilled Charters. The idea of union and harmony of action in resistance to British aggression and claims of Parliamentary domination, rapidly grew as the Colonies increased in population and importance, and the revived assumption of British power caused a bitter spirit of opposition.

While Stamp Acts and Tea Acts and appointments by the Crown of Royal officers and judges were general in their application to the Colonies, Massachusetts was for a while the storm center; and while the arbitrary closing of the Port of Boston, the quartering of troops upon the people, and other offensive acts were local in their effect, they were resented by all the Colonies as pointing to a common danger; and resistance to stamp officers and to carrying into effect the tea and stamp Acts was by no means confined to Boston.

New England, as feeling British action more directly, may have been more excited and violent in its opposition; but Virginia was inspired by the same feeling, and her strong and active leaders of public sentiment were no less determined and outspoken. In all the large cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston there were scenes of violence and the most active opposition to British authority. North Carolina, with her large Scotch-Irish population, had already been in revolt against the ruling powers upon local questions, and was eager to espouse the common cause. Maryland, under a different form of government, and by reason of her different religious belief, not affected in the same way as Massachusetts by religious questions, was in full concert with New England in her resistance to Parliamentary claims; and the other Colonies, though at first less openly affected by the general agitation and excitement, were early swept into the common sympathetic current. The growth of the inde-

pendent spirit bore little relation to governmental forms or religious creeds or local characteristics. All the Colonies alike had acquired, to a greater or less degree, the habit of managing their own affairs unmolested, and had been compelled by their isolation and distance from the mother country to rely upon their own resources and make their own laws, with little regard to the assent or approval of Parliaments.

Thus the Colonies, under the impulse of a common danger, drifted into actual revolution, not altogether as the result of oppression and injustice, but by the natural explosion of feeling pent up until it had reached the bursting point.

Outwardly there was in the beginning but little talk of independence; yet there were many who from the very outset looked forward to it, and they were not slow to covertly add fuel to the flames. It is clearly evident that men like the two Adamses and their sympathizers in Virginia and other Colonies early grasped the real situation, and that, though guarded in expression for a while, they were not in doubt whither events were tending. In private, there was much talk of independence, and there were some bold outcroppings from individuals; and it is probable that many felt what John Adams expressed in a letter to William Tudor, in 1818, that: "The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people."

Soon the demand for a Congress of the Colonies to consider the situation and to take active steps for a redress of grievances became an overwhelming force, though, in the excited condition of the people's minds, it could not be otherwise than a serious proposition, full of hazard to those who still retained their allegiance to Great Britain and wished for nothing but reconciliation and peace. As with all revolutions, events were marching faster than men, and the un-wisdom of the British Parliament in forcing just then meas-

ures which their wisest men foresaw were untimely and dangerous, brought things to a rapid termination.

Responsive to the universal feeling, Virginia stood foremost for action; and early in 1774 formulated a proposal for a general Congress of the Colonies to consider the situation. The suggestion was eagerly caught up elsewhere, and was followed in June of that year by the appointment by Massachusetts of delegates to a Congress to meet in September in Philadelphia, and by her calling upon all the Colonies to unite in the movement proposed by Virginia.

All the Colonies except Georgia promptly responded; and at the time and place suggested, delegates chosen by regular assemblies or by self-constituted gatherings of the people, met together to confer as to what form of concerted action should be taken to maintain their rights and to defend their liberties. The Congress had no defined powers and no clearly outlined purpose, other than to compare notes and to see what measures could be jointly taken for the common welfare; but as time went on, it assumed to itself broad powers, and took action such as its originators had little dreamed of.

There was so little real union feeling among the distinct and separate Colonies, such jealousies and suspicions, such divergent thoughts and such diversity of grievances, that from the first it was easy to see how difficult it would be to harness into a national system such discordant Colonies; and all the difficulties arising later, when independence was declared, were distinctly foreshadowed in the early deliberations. Sectional feeling, extreme sensitiveness over the rights of individual Colonies, abhorrence of anything resembling a central controlling power, were in evidence then as they have been since, down to this very present time.

The Congress thus assembled was distinctly and pre-eminently a peace Congress. Whatever may have been in the minds of some of its more radical delegates, to the vast

majority there had as yet come no thought of separation from the mother country; and the Congress looked hopefully forward to such concert of action only as would secure peaceful redress of grievances and a complete reconciliation.

But loyal and peaceable as the Congress was when it first met, it was early forced into such pronounced action that the prospect of reconciliation rapidly faded; and with the certainty that armed conflict impended, the only hope soon left was that war might lead to a better understanding and to ultimate peace without separation.

As might have been expected, the delegates were in little accord as to what powers their constituents had conferred upon them, or as to the support they would have for any positive action they might take. The New England delegates were looked upon with suspicion, and their radical views were abhorred and had but little support except from Virginia and from a few individual delegates elsewhere; but they were strong men, whose influence immensely increased as the difficulty of the situation became more plain and the necessity of positive measures of resistance more clearly developed.

Von Holst, in his *Constitutional History of the United States*, thus describes the Congress:

“How far the authority of the First Congress extended according to the instructions of its delegates, it is impossible to determine with certainty at this distance of time; but it is probable the original intention was that it should consult as to the ways and means calculated to remove the grievances and to guarantee the rights and liberties of the Colonies, and should propose to the latter a series of resolutions furthering these objects. But the force of circumstances compelled it to act and order immediately, and the people by a consistent following of its orders approved the transcending of the original instructions. The Congress was, therefore, not only a revolutionary body from its beginning, but its acts assumed a thoroughly revolutionary character.”

This is an accurate description of the Congress, and it is not strange that with the existing uncertainty as to powers and purposes it proceeded very cautiously at the beginning.

The first important acts were the issuing of Addresses to the King, to the people of Great Britain, and to the Colonies, a recommendation to the Colonies to adopt non-intercourse Acts, and the approval of a Declaration of Rights.

The difficulty of the position at the outset is clearly shown by the impossibility of reconciling much of the language of these papers with any hope of reconciliation or of a peaceful redress of grievances. Singularly enough, the drafting of the Declaration of Rights was committed to John Adams, notwithstanding the knowledge the Congress had of his advanced and positive views; and the document itself bears incontestable marks of his authorship, for in plain words it asserted free and exclusive powers of legislation in the several Provincial Legislatures, and denied that "the indubitable rights and liberties of the people could be taken from them, abridged or altered by any power whatever without their own consent by their own representatives in their own several Provincial Legislatures." To the ordinary mind this would seem like shutting the door against possible reconciliation, for Great Britain could not possibly have admitted so bold a claim without assenting to virtual independence and the abandonment of all her claims. Whether the other delegates saw this or not, there is little doubt what Adams intended; and we are not surprised therefore to find him writing to Mercy Otis Warren in 1807 that "the Declaration of Rights and Resolves of October 14, 1774, contain all the solid principles which nearly two years afterwards were inserted in the Declaration of Independence."

Yet Congress unanimously adopted this Declaration in face of the fact that in its Memorial to the People of Great Britain it had said: "You have been told we are seditious, impatient

of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured these are not facts but calumnies." Here would seem a strange inconsistency or deception; yet it was capable of a fair explanation without charging insincerity. To all the delegates, a firm stand seemed the only possibility of ultimate reconciliation; and while more moderate men were deluding themselves with vain hopes, their more advanced brethren were well content with general professions of loyalty while events were inevitably tending to that independence to which it was not yet wise policy to openly commit themselves.

It was evident enough that, whatever was intended, the only effect of the action taken at this session of Congress could be to increase disaffection and strengthen the growing hostility of the Colonies.

Congress adjourned to May, 1775; but before it again met, the whole face of things changed more radically and with more rapidity than any delegate could have conceived possible. Before the Spring of 1775, Massachusetts had flamed into open rebellion. The sequence of Stamp Acts and Tea Acts, of riotous assemblies, of the closing of the port, of the overbearing insolence of Royal officers, and of the various steps of Great Britain to enforce her authority, was the organization of the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly and its assumption of full control over Massachusetts Colonial affairs, even to the arming, equipping and drilling of military bodies in preparation for actual conflict.

Naturally enough, an explosion followed, and April 19, 1775, came the fight at Lexington and Concord between the Royal troops and the militia; and whatever the situation may have elsewhere been, thenceforward Massachusetts, aided by the other New England Colonies was at open war with Great Britain, and a New England army commanded by Artemas Ward, a Massachusetts General, and with other officers commissioned by the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly, rapidly

gathered at Cambridge and besieged the Royal troops in Boston.

The die had been cast when the appeal went forth to the other Colonies to rally to the support of Massachusetts; yet Congress resumed its sitting in May, apparently unconscious that the time for discussion had passed. It still talked reconciliation and again petitioned the King for redress of grievances, only to see its agent ignominiously repulsed and its Memorial met by drastic orders against all who were in rebellion.

Circumstances now forced its unwilling hand; for the actual situation at Boston could not be ignored, and the Congress took the decisive step of adopting the army before Boston as a Continental Force, chose Washington as Commander-in-Chief, appointed other General Officers, made rules for governing the forces in the field, took action to create a navy and to issue letters of credit, and appointed agents to seek help from foreign powers. This was War, and so plainly spelled independence that the control of affairs rapidly centered in the more radical leaders like the Adamses, the Lees, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Franklin, and others; and while the main body of delegates hesitated and still hoped for peace, the country was committed to a settlement only to be reached by bloody conflict.

Still, notwithstanding this warlike situation, outside of Massachusetts and of the minds of a few of the more active leaders, the hope of reunion had not been lost, and but little appreciation was had of the seriousness of the breach with the mother country. We find when Washington passed through New York to take command of the army at Cambridge, its Provincial Congress, in congratulating him upon his appointment, expressed its belief — "that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul — an accommodation with our mother country — you will cheerfully resign the deposit committed into your hands."

The first phase of nationality now appeared in the assump-

tion by Congress of extraordinary power over all the Colonies, acquiesced in without opposition, though few could have realized the full import of such action.

Washington with a body guard of Southern troops arrived in Cambridge July 2, 1775, to assume the duties of Commander-in-Chief imposed upon him by Congress; but again the march of events had been so rapid and unforeseen as to change the face of things. A few weeks before his arrival a real battle had been fought, at Bunker Hill, between British troops and a local New England army under local officers, and the siege of Boston had been undertaken by this same army before its recognition by Congress. Washington thus found himself in command of a considerable force, which had tested its courage and strength in battle, and though undisciplined and wanting in equipment, was ready and anxious for conflict, and had precious little idea that its members were ever again to come under British sway.

Congress again adjourned to September, but in a very different mood from that of its first meeting. The unexpected complications which had arisen showed that "reform within the party" was likely to be a failure, and that a war had been begun from which there was no retreat, except in separation from the mother country.

It is rather surprising to find that Von Holst, in his *History* before referred to, says that: "Even in August or September, 1775, — half a year after the battle of Lexington, — so strong was the Anglo-Saxon spirit of conservatism and loyalty among the Colonists that the few extremists who dared to speak of a violent disruption of all bonds entailed chastisement upon themselves and were universally censured."

Certainly, as applied to New England, where there was open war, this could not have been true, and it was equally incorrect as to the attitude of leading spirits in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and elsewhere in the South. The Suffolk Resolves, long

before this, had pretty clearly spelled independence, and the Mecklenburgh Declaration in North Carolina, authentic certainly in some form, had spoken plainly enough; and there can be no doubt that the subject of independence was openly discussed, not only in the army at Cambridge, but by a large portion of the press and in the correspondence of leading men everywhere.

But whatever may have been the situation in the early Fall of 1775, the proclamation of the King in response to the second petition of Congress, which arrived October 31, and the news of the employment of Hessian troops, ended all hopes of a peaceful adjustment; and from that time forth independence was not only in the air, but openly urged upon the floor of Congress and throughout the Colonies.

At the September Session delegates from Georgia appeared, and Congress thenceforward represented all the thirteen Colonies.

Through the ensuing winter Congress, as it were, marked time, pulsing the sentiments of the people, discussing plans for confederation, listening, it is true, to suggestions of compromise, but all the while exercising as far as practicable full powers of government in making steady preparations for war, equipping privateers, providing funds, accumulating supplies, and in drastic efforts to suppress the Tory element and disarm opposition. Further pretense of loyalty became absurd, and all energies were bent towards a war with the mother country, which could of necessity have but one successful issue, and that was separation.

In December, Generals Montgomery and Arnold led a New England force in a brave but futile attack upon Montreal and Quebec, in the hope that Canada would cast in her lot with the Colonies. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were seized by irregular bodies of Colonial troops, thus forcing Congress somewhat unwillingly to determine the status of the British

soldiers captured and held as prisoners of war to provide for the disposition of guns, munitions of war, and supplies captured in the forts, and to determine whether the forts should be held and garrisoned. All of these were crucial questions, and action upon them carried the Congress still farther towards actual war and separation.

The British troops on their part now invaded Virginia. Norfolk was burned and a British fleet attacked Charleston, South Carolina, without success. These acts conspired to still more arouse and inflame the people, and they rapidly armed and troops were collected in the different Colonies for open war.

About this time, in January, 1776, Thomas Paine issued his book entitled "Common Sense," setting forth in plainer terms than had yet been used the impossibility of reunion with Great Britain, and that the only hope was in independence. This publication had a tremendous effect upon the minds of the people, and strongly added to the growing feeling for independence.

In March came the inspiring success of Washington in compelling the British troops to evacuate Boston, which effected a great change in the political situation, widened the seat of war by the transference of the army to New York and — more important than all — made a real Continental Army of what had theretofore been little but an irregular New England army.

In nearly all the Colonies the move for independence rapidly gained force. Some local assemblies instructed their delegates to advocate it in Congress; meetings in its favor were everywhere held, and prominent leaders urged upon Congress that the time had come for positive action in that direction.

On June 7, 1776, the final step was taken when Richard Henry Lee, on behalf of the Virginia delegates, acting under instructions from the Virginia Assembly, rose from his seat and

moved in Congress for the adoption of the Resolve that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they be absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." Without hesitation John Adams of Massachusetts, recognizing what had long been the dearest hope in his mind and in that of many of the more pronounced delegates, seconded Lee's motion, and an earnest debate was opened upon the question of its acceptance by Congress.

To many it was not a surprise, but naturally a considerable portion of the delegates were unprepared for so radical a step; — some, not disinclined to it themselves, were in grave doubt whether the Congress had power to act upon so drastic a Resolution. Some questioned whether the Colonies they represented would be willing to indorse it and instruct them to vote in its favor. There were no means of telling, and there was much real doubt whether any Colony outside of Massachusetts would show a majority of its people in favor of it. A warm discussion followed showing the divergent views of the delegates, and action was postponed until June 10. Upon that day the lines became more closely drawn, and it plainly appeared that Massachusetts, Virginia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Georgia and Connecticut were ready to vote for it, but that New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, South Carolina and Maryland were not yet ready to commit themselves. It was deemed wise to further postpone definite action upon the Resolution, and its consideration was referred to the meeting of Congress July 1; but a very important step was taken by a vote of seven Colonies to five — one not voting — to appoint Committees to draft a form of Declaration of Independence, and to prepare Articles of Confederation for the government of the Colonies in case of separation.

The advocates of independence naturally felt great encouragement at this action, and every effort was made by personal appeal, letters and meetings, to influence the doubtful delegates. July 1, the debate upon the Resolution was resumed, and for nine hours was most earnest and vigorous. At the end, however, the Resolution was carried in the Committee. Nine Colonies — Massachusetts, Virginia, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, North Carolina, New Jersey and Georgia — voting in its favor; Pennsylvania and South Carolina voting against it; Delaware evenly divided and New York not voting. The Committee rose and reported their action to the House, and the next day, July 2, the majority of the delegates of each of twelve Colonies voted to accept the Report, New York not voting in the absence of instructions.

The formal Declaration drafted by the Committee was not adopted until July 4, when it received the assent of a majority of the delegates from each Colony except New York, and of that Colony July 9, through the unanimous action of the New York Convention. July 4, it was signed by John Hancock, President, and Charles Thompson, Secretary, and ordered by Congress to be promulgated, although the actual signing by delegates was not completed until later, fifty-four having signed by August and one — Thomas McKean of Delaware — not signing until October, and Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire being the last signer, in November.

It should be noted also that several of the signers were not elected delegates until after July 4.

Thus, after hesitation and debate and with much pressure upon the doubtful members, the independence of the Thirteen Colonies was declared with substantial unanimity, and they thenceforward became Thirteen States in nominal union. No declaration was made of an independent Nation, and it hardly could be said that a Nation yet existed, although Con-

gress did thereafter refer to the States in union as a Nation, and actually refused to listen to the Peace Commissioners because they did not present credentials to an independent State, or in terms consistent with "the honor of an independent Nation."

It is singular, too, that there appears no determination or declaration that there was to be a Republic, nor was there any such provision until the Constitution of 1789, except that the Northwestern Ordinance of 1787 provided that new States should have republican governments; and no provision whatever was made for any form of national government, other than the appointment before noted of a Committee to report Articles of Confederation upon some future day not stated.

Under these circumstances the Congress could only take to itself the governing power, though it had obviously been chosen for an entirely different purpose and had had no such power conferred upon it by its constituents.

The strange spectacle was now presented of thirteen new independent States embarking upon a war with one of the most powerful nations of the earth, without preparation, without a definite head, under the leadership of a Congress which itself had no powers except such as it assumed, and — worse still — when few of the States had anything in the shape of a government, and when the others, if not overrun by British troops and unable to form a government, were totally disorganized and in confusion owing to internal struggles between the revolutionists and the active and numerous tories.

The prospect seemed desperate enough at best; but to add to the difficulties, not long after the Declaration a sort of paralysis seemed to come over the Congress, and the remarkable efficiency it had so far shown was curiously followed by a period of indecision and weakness. The factious disputes which followed, in the only body having any power

at all, were most unfortunate and seemed to indicate the early destruction of the new Confederation.

The Congress of 1774 had been a remarkable body. It had faithfully and skillfully devoted itself to a difficult and perplexing task; it had been untiring and indefatigable, and in the infinite and laborious details to which the individual members gave themselves, they were worthy of all praise. It had had to create, equip and organize an army; to negotiate loans for a country without standing or credit; to create governmental agencies of all kinds out of the rawest of material; to provide arms, ammunition and supplies without a commissary department or any known sources from which they could be drawn; to open communications with foreign powers and to seek aid by loans or otherwise; to create a navy and prize courts; to build up some sort of governments for the States unable to create their own, — States jealous, too, of one another and of any attempt by Congress to enforce powers; and all this and more had to be done with a large part of the people actually hostile to the cause, and with the knowledge that Congressional power over its armies was so loose that the latter were liable to dissolve and disappear at any time, according to the whims of the men enlisted.

The task was a stupendous one, but had been dealt with with remarkable success and with wise management and courage; but when efficiency was most needed, in the fall of 1776, Congress lost its grip, became the prey to discouragement and almost despair, and its action was palsied by petty quarrels and disagreements.

There were many things that conspired to bring this about: Washington's defeat in New York and its occupation by the British; the invasion of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and of the South carried dismay and discouragement, and it was of serious importance that Congress had lost many able and experienced members by the demand upon them,

in their own States, to fill important positions. There was the necessity, further, of sending strong men abroad as agents to foreign powers, and there were serious losses in membership by the withdrawal of some from lack of sympathy with the radical action taken. There was also the neglect or refusal of the States to complete their quotas of troops; their delays in honoring requisitions for food or supplies to the starving army; the unfortunate jealousies and bickerings among the officers; the falling off of enlistments, and the frequent desertions from the army. It was not strange that such a combination of discouragements had a disastrous effect, and that it soon led to a general tone of despondency and a listlessness and inactivity at a time when the utmost energy and exertion was imperatively needed.

The failure of Washington's campaign in New York, and his retreat southward, roused a dangerous opposition to his leadership, which had the active or concealed support of eminent members of Congress, and might have been successful but for the brilliant and unexpected victories at Trenton and Princeton, and the reaction among the people in New Jersey and elsewhere, caused by the brutally offensive conduct of the Hessian troops. The revolutionary cause was thus early in dire peril, and that it rallied was due, more than to any other thing, to the efficient support given Washington by officers of the army like Greene, Lincoln, Knox and Hamilton, and to the self-sacrificing spirit of individuals like Trumbull of Connecticut, Robert Morris, the Lees, Livingston, Rutledge, and others of extensive influence whose efforts and example rallied the people, shamed and overthrew the cabals in Congress, and ere long created such a healthy revulsion of feeling that Congress changed its policy of hesitation and opposition, conferred upon Washington a practical dictatorship, again gave him its confidence and extended to him a much more cordial and active support.

But the real trouble was the lack of any central government with defined powers that it could enforce upon the States through its own courts. The Union was largely a sentimental one, with no cohesive power and with little hearty and unselfish State co-operation,—hence neglect by the States to answer requisitions enfeebled the army and hindered warlike operations, while the truly patriotic officers whose hard lot it was to resist the invaders with armies it was almost impossible to retain in the field, were hampered by disputes over rank and the constant jealousies of officers from one State against those from other States. No help came from the new Articles of Confederation, for the Committee of Thirteen appointed in June, 1776, failed to report until April, 1777, and then the only member of the original Committee still in Congress was Samuel Adams, and he was not present when the vote was taken in Congress for the adoption of the Articles. After adoption, November 15, 1777, they were referred to the States for ratification, and as the votes of all thirteen were required, it was not until March, 1781, that the assent of the last State, Maryland, was assured, her action having been postponed until a shadowy promise could be obtained from some of the States and Congress that the portions of the Northwestern Territory, claimed by the States, should be ceded for the common benefit. The failure of the States to act in this matter brought about, as we shall see later, the agitation that resulted in the Constitutional Convention.

It is well to notice here in passing how frequently our Revolutionary history encountered the fateful number thirteen. There were thirteen States—there were thirteen Articles of Confederation—there were thirteen years between the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, and there were thirteen Stars and thirteen Stripes upon the American flag, but notwithstanding all

this and the plain violation of many of the laws of economics and finance the country has survived and been blessed to an uncommon degree.

The attitude of Congress is well described by Hart in his *American Nation*, when he says: "In all that Congress did, it never seemed to entertain a doubt about its actual subordination to the Colonial Assemblies which it represented. Up to the time of the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, Congress was merely the central office of a continental signal system. Its bulletins were made laws by the Assemblies, not because the recommendations were looked upon as having legal form, but because they were accepted as the most trustworthy readings of the signs of the times."

It is not my purpose to set forth or discuss the events of the war, except so far as they bore upon the governmental situation; and there was but little change in this respect between 1777 and 1781. The war was carried on by Congress, with such aid as it could get from the States, with more or less efficiency and with indeterminate results, until the important alliance with France was effected, and her troops and navies appeared upon the scene. The blame for conditions existing was no more with Congress than with the States, and was clearly the fault of the system and the utter lack of any controlling power.

The Articles having been ratified by all the thirteen States, the Congress of the Confederation met November 30, 1781; but new duties and responsibilities were then imposed upon a new Congress no whit stronger than the previous one, and with its powers but little enlarged by the Articles, — in fact, to a certain extent they were lessened, for the old Congress could properly claim that its powers were unlimited, while after adoption they were to some extent more clearly defined, though no greater power existed of enforcing them upon the States. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown had, however, practically

ended the war; and this of itself materially changed the situation.

There was now a little more substantial shadow of real government, for the Articles of Confederation provided that the citizens of each State should have, in the different States, the privileges and immunities granted to citizens of the several States, that Congress should have the express right to determine war and peace, might raise forces and make rules therefor; might levy taxes (whether collectible or not), might fix the value of coinage, make treaties with foreign powers, regulate the post office, settle disputes between the States, and establish foreign courts. So much was a gain; but there was still the lack of responsible executive power or of any judiciary to enforce Congressional Acts; and what above all else was peculiarly unfortunate and leading to inevitable disaster, the States were left to regulate commerce with the result that might have been expected, that the various States immediately undertook to enact hostile legislation upon commerce against each other, and internecine commercial warfare was thus inaugurated, sure to breed bad feeling and enmity between the States; further, no important legislation could be had without the assent of the States, and the Articles were capable of amendment only by the agreement of the whole thirteen. The most that can be said is that these Articles did give a foreshadowing of a division of powers between a central government and the States, but it was too indefinite to make the scheme a real workable plan. Von Holst says of it: "The governmental machinery of the Confederation was as imperfect and clumsy as it could well be. It not infrequently seemed as if it would cease working altogether. . . . The moment all external pressure [of the war] was removed, the crazy structure began to fall to pieces with a rapidity which astonished even those who had, during the struggle, the best opportunity to learn its weaknesses."

The Confederation was quite as unprepared for peace as it had been for war. It was able to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, but with the humiliating feeling — ere long to be made a certainty — that it could give no guaranty that the States would abide by its terms ; and in fact these were so openly and flagrantly violated and disregarded that foreign powers looked on aghast, having no faith in the permanency of such an Union, and expectant only that it would soon break into fragments which would be absorbed by France or other powers.

Bad as the Congressional situation unquestionably was, — internal perils were equally threatening, — the States would not or could not furnish money to pay the troops. The war was over and their term of enlistment had expired, but such a dissatisfied and mutinous spirit prevailed in the army that Congress was fearful that it could not peacefully be disbanded while its just demands were unsatisfied ; to make things worse, foreign loans were coming due, to which the honor of the country was pledged ; yet no money was forthcoming to pay them. The wisdom and firmness of Washington, ably seconded by his leading officers, averted trouble with the army, and with difficulty the loans were partially paid or extended through such State aid as could be got and by the unselfish action of individual patriots. The final disbandment of the army was effected ; but, unfortunately, that threw upon the country a large body of unemployed men without means of support, just at the time when business became stagnant, owing to the loss of markets which had been available during the war, and to the sudden closing of important avenues of profit. The currency, too, was depreciated and in utter confusion, and neither Congress nor the States had any credit at home or abroad. Raw and inexperienced men, often without standing in the community, were largely at the head of affairs in the States, in place of the number of wealthy and influential citizens who had fled or been

driven away; and demagogues availed themselves of their opportunity to exploit to ready hearers all kinds of wild financial schemes and projects.

Owing to the awkward provision as to amendment of the Articles of Confederation, Congress was soon left in a helpless position, and it was no wonder that attendance upon its meetings so fell off that at times no quorum could be had, and seldom could there be mustered at any session over twenty-five members out of the total ninety-one. To ratify the Treaty of Peace, only twenty-three members representing eleven States could be assembled; and when Washington appeared before Congress to resign his command, only twenty members were present, representing seven States. It became a peripatetic body, now meeting in one place, now in another. It was bad enough when money was wanting to pay foreign loans, but the situation was hopeless when the States neglected or refused to furnish money for the ordinary expenses of government, and capped their neglect in some cases by treating Congress with contempt and by alluding to it as a foreign power, without resources or honor. One newspaper described it as "a pendulum vibrating between Annapolis and New York," and another, "like unto a wheel rolling from Dan to Beersheba and from Beersheba to Dan, with no rest this side of Jordan."

Naturally, Congress lost interest and power, literally fell to pieces, and practically abandoned its sittings. In the States things were hardly better; some of the new State governments were exceedingly unstable — very few had formulated constitutions; there was violent commercial war between the different States, those having ports taxed the imports coming through them from other States, and others levied direct taxes upon goods coming into their borders; State navigation laws treated citizens of other States as aliens, in violation of the Articles of Confederation to which all the States had formally

agreed. When Congress at the instance of our ministers abroad urged treaties amending the navigation laws to prevent the exclusion of our ships from foreign ports, though it was for their own benefit the States would take no action; the treaties made with England, France and Holland were openly disregarded; contrary to express stipulations of the treaty with England, the property of Tories was confiscated and their persons imperilled; laws were made in the vain hope of compelling people to trade at the face value of a heavily depreciated paper currency; and perhaps more dangerous than all, actual conflict between the States was threatened over the disputed claims to Northern and Western territory.

Independent Confederacies began to be talked of; the new settlers on Western lands threatened to set up for themselves or even to combine with Spain; the State courts fell into disrepute and a bitter feeling of hatred and jealousy was aroused against law and lawyers, resulting in a serious rebellion in Massachusetts requiring a formidable body of State troops for its suppression.

The discontent and bewilderment of the people was studiously fomented by many of those who had been lukewarm in the Revolution and who still regarded the principles of the Declaration of Independence as impracticable folly. Anarchy seemed in plain view; the people were showing themselves unfit for self-government, and thus early loomed the spectacle deprecated long after by Daniel Webster of "States dissevered, discordant, belligerent — a land rent with civil feuds and drenched it may be in fraternal blood." Dr. Jeremy Belknap, writing to Ebenezer Hazard in 1784, says: "Imagine thirteen independent clocks going all together by the force of their own weights, and carrying thirteen independent hammers fitted to strike on one bell."

Some remedy it was imperatively necessary to find; — yet what? The States were so determined in opposition to any

central power which might limit or restrict their rights that amendment of the Articles of Confederation in that direction seemed hopeless ; and when the Legislature of New York declared in 1782 that the source of existing embarrassments was the lack of power in Congress, and suggested a Convention to amend the Articles, Congress saw no way of acting in the matter, and nothing came of it.

Various attempts to amend equally failed ; and it was not until the Shays rebellion brought the country face to face with chaos that leading men everywhere bestirred themselves and anxiously sought by conference and correspondence, and through newspapers and pamphlets, to devise some plan acceptable to the country, which would save the trembling government and promote public order through some stronger central power.

Washington, deeply concerned at the situation, wrote: "There are combustibles in every State which a spark might set fire to . . . I feel infinitely more than I can express for the disorders which have arisen in these States. The rebellion [Shays's], therefore, by disclosing the danger, helped to bring about a reaction, strengthen the hands of the conservatives, discredit extreme democratic tendencies, and aid the men that were seeking to give vigor to the Union."

Though for a long time no concert of action seemed possible, an unexpected way out was ultimately found in a movement which in its inception was for an entirely different purpose.

Reference has been made to the opposition of Maryland to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation until some guarantees were given that the States would cede to Congress for the benefit of the Nation their claims to the Northern and Western Territory. The vague promises made were not fulfilled, and midst the turmoil in various quarters upon this question, ugly disputes arose as to the navigation of the Mississippi and a troublesome local question between Mary-

land and Virginia over rights to the navigation of the Potomac. In 1777, those States appointed commissioners to confer upon the matter, but no adjustment was reached. The trouble increased, and in 1784, Virginia again appointed Commissioners, but without result; in 1785, Maryland suggested the co-operation of Pennsylvania and Delaware as interested parties — still with no conclusion.

No definite action was taken until 1786, when Virginia went farther and appointed Commissioners to meet those of other States to consider the trade of the Union, and invited all the States to send delegates to a meeting in Annapolis in September, 1786. Five States responded by delegates, and discussion was had of existing conditions throughout the Union. Finally, upon motion of Alexander Hamilton, the meeting resolved to lay before Congress a plan for a general Convention in Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to make the constitution of Federal Government adequate to the emergencies of the Union." This was a decided and broad step forward, and in February, 1787, Congress took the matter up, and though it made no reference to the Annapolis Convention, voted to call a Convention of all the States in Philadelphia in May, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions thereof as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union."

It is well to note how carefully limited this vote was, and that its wording seemed to contemplate nothing more than amendment of the existing Articles of Confederation requiring the assent of all the thirteen States; but the people eagerly grasped at some method of ending the political confusion, and were not disposed to be critical of the exact

terms so long as action might result in a government with real power to legislate and to enforce its acts. That the subsequent Convention departed pretty widely from the words and meaning of the vote in formulating an entirely new Constitution requiring for its ratification the assent of but nine States, can hardly be doubted; and it was not strange that, later on, those opposed to the Constitution found cogent and plausible arguments against it in this seeming assumption of powers not conferred upon the Convention, and claimed with some force that it proposed a secession from Articles of Confederation to which all the thirteen States had pledged themselves.

The response, however, to the action of Congress was immediate, and all the States except Rhode Island chose delegates to attend the Convention.

It assembled in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and showed a body of men unequalled by any that had before assembled in America and not surpassed since; for among its members were a very large part of the most eminent and active patriots of the Revolution — soldiers, civilians, lawyers and statesmen. Some able men like Jefferson and John Adams, who probably would have been members, were abroad on foreign missions; and, unfortunately, some well-known patriots like Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams and others, stood aloof, disapproving the Convention and its purpose; but there were Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, James Wilson, the Pinckneys, Randolph, Dickinson, Rufus King, John Langdon, Caleb Strong, Nathaniel Gorham, Jared Ingersoll, Jonathan Dayton, William S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, Elbridge Gerry and many others, representing the best intellect and statesmanship of the country.

A majority representation from seven States was secured May 25, when Washington was chosen President of the Convention and William Jackson Secretary. New Hamp-

shire appeared in June, and a little later representation was secured from all the States except Rhode Island.

On May 28, at the first meeting, there appeared great divergence of views among the delegates as to the powers conferred upon them, and as to what action could be taken in conformity with the call for the Convention. There were three distinct groups, each holding its opinions with great positiveness, so much so as to make ultimate agreement seem almost hopeless. There were those who sought a National Government with sovereign powers, but leaving the independent States in control of local matters not inconsistent with the necessary powers of the central government, yet giving the larger States the dominating power. There were others who insisted that the National Government should be supreme even to the extinction of the independent States, thus creating a semi-monarchical form of government; and there was yet another group which sought only a Confederation similar to that already existing, remedying existing defects by conferring enlarged powers upon Congress.

In addition to these divergencies were the sectional jealousies already appearing between North and South, and the alarm of the smaller States lest they be overwhelmed and controlled by the power of the larger States. Several plans were proposed. Virginia, through Edmund Randolph, submitted an outline of a Constitution with fifteen articles. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina submitted another with sixteen articles, in general harmony with Randolph's; and William Patterson of New Jersey submitted one with eleven articles which more nearly represented the views of those who wanted merely a Confederation.

Without following the debates in the Convention, we can refer here only to the general results, remembering that those were reached only after prolonged and heated debate, during which some members withdrew from the Convention. The

Patterson resolutions were not approved, but the Randolph resolutions, modified by Pinckney's and consisting, when reported, of nineteen articles, were submitted to the whole House, June 19. Parts of them were adopted, but the crucial propositions — those relating to the nature, tenure and power of the Executive, the establishment of National Courts, the tenure and power of the Judges and by whom they should be appointed, and the question of whether there should be one or two Houses of Congress, and in either case in what way the States should be represented, particularly those States in which slaves formed part of the population — all these questions caused violent discussion and were only finally settled by a compromising spirit and by majority votes.

The question as to Congress came near to disrupting the Convention. No agreement could be reached in Convention and the matter was finally referred to a Committee to report some definite plan. With infinite difficulty that Committee in the end came to an agreement that there should be two Houses, — one composed of members elected by the States in proportion to the population, the slaves being reckoned upon a fractional enumeration, and the other with equal representation from each State. The Convention having adopted this plan, nothing remained to excite discussion except the provision that the Constitution should go into effect upon its ratification by nine States. It was argued with much force by those opposed to it, that this was in direct contravention to the Articles of Confederation, which all the States had agreed to and which required the assent of the whole thirteen to any amendment or alteration, and in fact constituted a secession by nine States.

The Article was finally carried, however, by a majority vote of eleven States, and by the vote of Alexander Hamilton of New York, and the Constitution as adopted ordered, September 17, 1787, to be transmitted to Congress to be by that body

submitted to Conventions of the States for ratification. The narrow escape of the Convention from utter failure is evidenced by the fact that of the sixty-five delegates chosen as members, eleven declined or did not attend; that the largest number ever in attendance at any one time was fifty-five, although two new members had been appointed in place of the two declining; that three members withdrew; that nine others were not present when the Constitution was adopted; that three who were present — Randolph, Mason and Gerry — refused to sign; and that, ultimately, but thirty-nine delegates actually signed the Constitution.

The Convention dissolved, by no means sure that Congress or the States would approve its action. Washington himself is reported to have exclaimed in intense anxiety that if that Constitution failed of ratification, no other Constitution could be recalled in peace, but the next would be written in blood.

In reading what is published of the debates in Convention, the papers in the *Federalist*, and the discussion in the States, upon the question of ratification, one is struck with the fact that nearly every question now exciting the public mind was then thoroughly considered, so that questions now termed progressive seem almost reactionary. The tenure and power of the Executive were exhaustively discussed; the eligibility to re-election; the tenure and power of the judges and their responsiveness to public opinion; the whole theory of representative government; the method of electing Senators and Representatives; the advantages or dangers of unchecked popular action — all the arguments pro and con with which we are now familiar were then brought forward and carefully weighed, and that, too, by the ablest minds and the clearest thinkers this country has ever produced. The result excited the admiration of the world, and has wonderfully stood the test of over a century and a quarter. If the work can be

improved upon to-day, the least that can be asked is deliberation and the careful thought of our strongest statesmen.

Congress received the work of the Convention with some coolness and with evident inclination at first to object to it as contrary to the powers conferred upon the Convention; — but the perilous condition of the country and the imperative necessity of speedy action so far influenced them that, September 28, 1787, it was voted to submit the Constitution to Conventions in the States as recommended.

This action, however, did not end the matter, for fierce factional contests over the ratification of the Constitution arose in the different States, and the result was long in doubt.

Eminent patriots like Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Clinton, Mason and others bitterly opposed it, while some whose aid was greatly needed rendered hesitating support. How evenly divided the parties were in the several States is shown by the following votes :

Delaware, December 7, 1787, New Jersey, December 15, 1787, and Georgia, January 2, 1788, ratified it unanimously; Pennsylvania was the scene of most bitter conflict, but ratified December 12, 1787, by a vote of 46 to 23; Connecticut ratified January 9, 1788, 128 to 40; Massachusetts, long doubtful and secured only by the conversion of Samuel Adams and Hancock, ratified February 6, 1788, 187 to 168; Maryland, after a hard contest, April 28, 1788, 63 to 12; South Carolina, May 23, 1788, 149 to 73; Virginia, after great excitement, June 25, 1788, 89 to 79. Thus the nine States were secured, and in fact ten, — for New Hampshire had ratified June 21, 1788, 57 to 46, but the news had not been received when the vote of Virginia was returned. July 26, 1788, New York ratified, 30 to 27, insisting at the same time, as several other States did, upon the adoption of amendments proposed, some of which were subsequently included; November 21, 1789,

North Carolina ratified, 193 to 75, and the last of the thirteen — Rhode Island — ratified May 29, 1790, 34 to 32.

July 2, 1788, after ratification by nine States, as provided, the President of Congress reported their action, and Congress, September 13, 1788, appointed the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for the choice of electors in the several states which before said day should have ratified the Constitution, — the first Wednesday in February for the electors to assemble in their respective States and vote for a President, and the first Wednesday in March in New York for the beginning of the new Government; and there, April 30, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the United States.

Thus, after thirteen years of indecision, weakness and strife, the United States stood forth as a real Nation with a government, republican in form and endowed with the powers of a sovereign Nation. The Declaration of Independence was at last made effective, and the American Revolution was completed.

SKETCH
OF
COLONEL JOSEPH GILBERT

A BRIEF SKETCH OF COL. JOSEPH GILBERT

A WORCESTER COUNTY PATRIOT

A. D. 1733-1776

BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON, SHEPARD DEVEREUX GILBERT

Benjamin Gilbert, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a grandson of Humphrey Gilbert, who was in Ipswich, Mass., in 1648. Benjamin was born in Ipswich, February 1, 1691, and moved to Brookfield in 1747, dying there in 1760. While a resident of Ipswich, he served in the expedition against Cape Breton in 1744, and his commission as Ensign, signed by Governor Shirley, is still in the possession of one of his descendants.

His son, Joseph Gilbert, was born in Ipswich in 1733, and at the age of fourteen accompanied his father to their new home in Brookfield. The records of that town establish the fact that Joseph Gilbert, when only twenty-two years old, served in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755, having enlisted in Captain Samuel Robinson's Hardwick Company.

In the campaign of 1756, which planned the reduction of the forts at Crown Point and Niagara, for which Massachusetts raised a force of nearly seven thousand men, Joseph Gilbert served in Obadiah Cooley's Brookfield Company.

In the struggle that resulted in the separation of the American Colonies from the mother country, Joseph Gilbert took a creditable part in civic as well as military life. At a town meeting, held in Brookfield, May 17, 1773, he was appointed chairman of a committee of five to prepare and report an address to "The Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston." He was one of a committee, December 7, 1773, to draft resolutions against the imposition of the tax on tea.

Entitled Lieutenant Joseph Gilbert, he was one of eleven of his townsmen chosen as a Committee of Correspondence on September 12, 1774. Later in the same year he was chosen captain of a company of Minute Men, the first enlisted as such in the town.

Upon the general alarm on the 19th of April, 1775, he marched with all expedition to Roxbury, at the head of his company.

In an extended notice, printed in "The New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette," of March 21, 1776, it is stated that "on the memorable 17th. of June, at the request of Gen. Ward, he cheerfully risked his life by divers times passing and repassing Charlestown-Neck, in the time of action, amidst a constant fire from the enemy's ships and batteries."

On February 16, 1776, Joseph Gilbert was chosen colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Militia in the County of Worcester, but his promising career was ended by his death on March 2, 1776, at the age of forty-three.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

JUNE 1, 1911, TO JUNE 1, 1912

	INCOME	PRINCIPAL
BALANCE ON HAND, June 1, 1911	\$261.75	\$1,351.89
INITIATION FEES		240.00
ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT	4,142.05	
INTEREST, on Bank Balances	13.14	30.95
DONATIONS, to liquidate indebtedness	83.00	
AMOUNT of bill returned	7.00	
AMOUNT borrowed from Old Colony Trust Co. (note dated June 1, 1912, at 4% for 6 months)	550.00	
RECEIVED from F. H. Brown and J. G. Minot amount due them as Treasurer and donated by them to the Association . . .	100.00	
	<hr/> \$5,156.94	<hr/> \$1,622.84

CASH ACCOUNT

EXPENDITURES

JUNE 1, 1911, TO JUNE 1, 1912

	INCOME	PRINCIPAL
SALARIES:		
John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00	
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	720.00	
Mary A. Bruce, <i>Clerk</i>	480.00	
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	729.00	
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	250.00	
F. H. Brown, <i>Treasurer, pro tem.</i> }		
J. G. Minot, <i>Treasurer</i> , }	100.00	\$3,179.00
GENERAL EXPENSE:		
Gas and electric lighting	208.72	
Fuel	168.75	
Police service on Sundays	19.50	
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —		
in removing snow	\$71.00	
on grounds, etc.	150.95	221.95
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses at the		
Monument, etc.	425.41	1,044.33
Expenses of Annual Meeting and material for Proceedings,		
Lunches, etc.	148.10	
University Press, printing, etc.	702.23	
Auditing Treasurer's accounts	10.00	
Stationery, clerical service, postage, etc.	36.10	
Advertising	7.20	
1000 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co., 4's, 1929		910.00
Interest on same, 4 months, 13 days	14.78	
500 Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., Gen. Mort.,		
4's, 1995		496.87
Interest on same, 1 month, 16 days	2.56	
BALANCES	12.64	215.97
	\$5,156.94	\$1,622.84

TRIAL BALANCE

Debits			
The Monument	\$133,649.83		
Granite Lodge	37,512.07	\$171,161.90	
Cash		1,635.48	
		<u>\$172,797.38</u>	
Credits			
Capital		\$171,161.90	
1000 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co. 4s, 1929	\$910 00		
500 Atch. Top. & S. F. Ry. Co. Gen. Mortgage 4s, 1995	496.87	1,406.87	
Income	12.64		
General Fund	215.97	228.61	
		<u>\$172,797.38</u>	

J. GRAFTON MINOT, *Treasurer.*

Boston, June 1, 1912.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1912, have attended to that duty, and report that they find the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to us.

HENRY E. WOODS }
CHARLES F. READ } *Committee.*

Boston, June 13, 1912.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1911, TO JUNE 1, 1912

FROM THE UNITED STATES

Alabama	252	Nebraska	332
Arizona	60	Nevada	202
Arkansas	203	New Hampshire	1,037
California	878	New Jersey	1,450
Colorado	332	New York	3,918
Connecticut	1,062	New Mexico	14
Delaware	262	North Carolina	166
Florida	323	North Dakota	115
Georgia	284	Ohio	983
Idaho	223	Oklahoma	179
Illinois	1,104	Oregon	261
Indiana	243	Pennsylvania	1,906
Iowa	439	Rhode Island	791
Kansas	291	South Carolina	239
Kentucky	284	South Dakota	116
Louisiana	261	Tennessee	236
Maine	1,375	Texas	309
Maryland	477	Utah	249
Massachusetts	8,235	Vermont	804
Michigan	589	Virginia	331
Minnesota	431	West Virginia	203
Mississippi	221	Washington	346
Missouri	431	Wisconsin	458
Montana	246	Wyoming	143

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES

District of Columbia	333
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FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Africa	12	India	36
Australia	14	Ireland	37
Austria	15	Italy	18
British Columbia	42	Japan	46
Brussels	1	Mexico	12
Canada	538	New Zealand	18
Central America	8	Norway and Sweden	22
China	41	Persia	8
Cuba	31	Russia	4
Denmark	18	Scotland	54
England	277	South America	10
Europe	7	South Africa	12
Finland	3	Spain	5
France	13	Switzerland	13
Germany	59	West Indies	42
Hawaiian Islands	10		

From the United States	33,294
From Territories of the United States	333
From Foreign Countries	1,426

•Total 35,053

HONORARY MEMBERS

1888.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.
DOUGLAS PUTNAM.
DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.

1891.

WHITELAW REID.

1893.

HORACE PORTER.

1894.

ANDREW ELLICOTT KENNEDY
BENHAM.

1895.

GASTON DE SAHUNE LAFAYETTE.

1910.

JEAN JULES JUSSELAND.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

A.

Gordon Abbott.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
George Russell Agassiz.
John Adams Aiken.
John Albee.
Charles Allen.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Glover Morrill Allen.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Charles Walter Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
William Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Francis Henry Appleton.
Francis Randall Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Luther Atwood.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Horace Sargent Bacon.

William Bacon.
Alvin Richards Bailey.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.
James Warren Bailey.
Amos Prescott Baker.
Ezra Henry Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Francis Reginald Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
John George Barker.
Elmer Walter Barron.
Frank Trask Barron.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Willis Carroll Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Charles Newcomb Baxter.
Franklin William Bayley.
Walter Cabot Baylies.
Boylston Adams Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
Stoughton Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Josiah Henry Benton.
William Emery Bicknell.
Charles Wesley Birtwell.
Clarence John Blake.
Henry Nichols Blake.
John Amory Lowell Blake.

Samuel May Boardman.
 Thomas Dennie Boardman.
 Joshua Peter Langley Bodfish.
 Joel Carlton Bolan.
 Charles Knowles Bolton.
 John Bordman.
 Edward Tracy Bouvé.
 Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
 Alfred Bowditch.
 Charles Pickering Bowditch.
 Jeffrey Richardson Brackett.
 Edward Hickling Bradford.
 George Gardner Bradford.
 William Burroughs Bradford.
 Frank Eliot Bradish.
 Henry Willard Bragg.
 Edward Walter Branigan.
 Charles Norcross Breed.
 Frank Brewster.
 John Frederick Flemmich
 Brewster.
 John Franklin Briry.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.
 Edward Brooks.
 Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Shepherd Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Gilbert Patten Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Joseph Henry Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Herbert Wheildon Browne.
 Thomas Quincy Browne.
 Webster Bruce.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Alfred Monson Bullard.
 George Edwin Bullard.

Augustus George Bullock.
 Samuel James Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 Charles Dana Burrage.
 John Foster Bush.
 Charles Favour Byam.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C.

Arthur Tracy Cabot.
 Louis Cabot.
 Eliot Lincoln Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 Grosvenor Calkins.
 Donald McLennan Cameron.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 Guy Edward Carleton.
 William Dudley Carleton.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Prescott Chamberlain.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 Walter Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.
 Munroe Chickering.
 Tileston Chickering.
 William Worcester Churchill.
 Arthur Tirrell Clark.
 David Oakes Clark.
 Frederic Simmons Clark.
 Robert Farley Clark.
 Arthur French Clarke.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Hermann Frederick Clarke.
 Charles Warren Clifford.

James David Coady.
 Darius Cobb.
 Charles Henry Coburn.
 Charles Russell Codman.
 Rufus Coffin.
 Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
 William Ogilvie Comstock.
 Charles Allerton Coolidge.
 Ernest Hall Coolidge.
 Frederic Austin Coolidge.
 George Augustin Coolidge.
 Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
 Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr.
 John Joseph Copp.
 Joseph John Corbett.
 Edward Jones Cox.
 Edwin Sanford Crandon.
 George Glover Crocker.
 George Uriel Crocker.
 Joseph Ballard Crocker.
 Clifford Fenton Crosby.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Francis Boardman Crowninshield.
 Prentiss Cummings.
 Henry Winchester Cunningham.
 Charles Pelham Curtis.
 Elmer Lewis Curtis.
 John Silsbee Curtis.
 Frederic Haines Curtiss.
 Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

D.

Martin Ordway Daly.
 James Dana.
 Richard Henry Dana.
 Thomas Dana.
 Henry William Daniell.
 Edwin Alfred Daniels.
 Charles Kimball Darling.

Francis Henry Davenport.
 George Howe Davenport.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 Bancroft Gherardi Davis.
 Horace Davis.
 John Morton Davis.
 Hilbert Francis Day.
 John Dearborn.
 John George Dearborn.
 Henry Beals Dennison.
 Joseph Waldo Denny.
 Charles Lunt De Normandie.
 James De Normandie.
 Philip Yardley De Normandie.
 Robert Laurent De Normandie.
 Arthur Lithgow Devens.
 Richard Devens.
 Franklin Dexter.
 Gordon Dexter.
 Philip Dexter.
 William Sohier Dexter.
 Marquis Fayette Dickinson.
 William Edward Lovell Dillaway.
 Pitt Dillingham.
 Charles Healy Ditson.
 Horace Dodd.
 Edward Sherman Dodge.
 Frank Albert Dodge.
 Arthur Walter Dolan.
 Eben Sumner Draper.
 Charles Acton Drew.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.
 Walter Hovey Dugan.
 Henry Dorr Dupee.
 James Alexander Dupee.
 Theodore Francis Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.
 Henry Herbert Edes.

Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Elisha Doane Eldredge.
 Samuel Atkins Eliot.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 George Henry Ellis.
 Ephraim Emerton.
 Robert Wales Emmons, 2d.
 Eugene Francis Endicott.
 William Endicott.
 William Endicott, Jr.
 William Crowninshield Endicott.
 Charles Sidney Ensign.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 Harold Clarence Ernst.
 Arthur Frederic Estabrook.
 George William Evans.
 Edward Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.
 William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Augustus Alanson Fales.
 John Whittemore Farwell.
 Henry Gregg Fay.
 William Wallace Fenn.
 George Prentice Field.
 Horace Cecil Fisher.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Allan Forbes.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Francis Apthorp Foster.
 Francis Charles Foster.

Hatherly Foster.
 William Plumer Fowler.
 John Andrews Fox.
 Walter Sylvanus Fox.
 Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Joseph La Forme Frothingham.
 Louis Agassiz Frothingham.
 Paul Revere Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Henry Holton Fuller.
 Robert Morton Fullerton.
 Dawes Eliot Furness.

G.

Charles Theodore Gallagher.
 George Minot Garland.
 Ernest Lewis Gay.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 George Washington Gay.
 Charles Gibson.
 Isaac Stebbins Gilbert.
 Shepard Devereux Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Augustus Goddard.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Abner Cheney Goodell.
 John Gott.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Charles Pelham Greenough.
 William Elliot Griffis.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.

Courtenay Guild.
Curtis Guild.

H.

Edward Hale.
Richard Walden Hale.
Robert Sever Hale.
Franklin Austin Hall.
Thomas Hills Hall.
Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
Charles Sumner Hamlin.
Samuel Hammond.
Henry Mason Harper.
Walter Leo Harrington.
Samuel Tibbetts Harris.
Thaddeus William Harris.
Albert Bushnell Hart.
Thomas Norton Hart.
Henry Hastings.
Albert Fearing Hayden.
Frank Conant Hayward.
Augustus Hemenway.
Joseph Putnam Bradlee
Henshaw.
Everett Carleton Herrick.
Eben Newell Hewins.
Philip Hichborn.
Lewis Wilder Hicks.
Francis Lee Higginson.
Henry Lee Higginson.
James Frederic Hill.
William Henry Hill.
Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
Freeman Hinckley.
Samuel Parker Hinckley.
George Miller Hobbs.
Turner Hodgdon.
Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Robert Homans.
Edward Augustus Horton.
Clement Stevens Houghton.
Archibald Murray Howe
Edward Willard Howe.
Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe.
Henry Saltonstall Howe.
Charles Warren Howland.
Edwin Howland.
Albert Harrison Hoyt.
Charles Wells Hubbard.
Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
Clarence Blake Humphreys.
James Melville Hunnewell.
Francis William Hurd.
George Frederick Hurd.
Charles Lewis Hutchins.
Constantine Foundoulaki
Hutchins.
Edward Webster Hutchins.
Gordon Hutchins.
John Hurd Hutchins.
Edward Bryant Hutchinson.
George Hutchinson.

I.

George Brimmer Inches.

J.

Henry Percy Jaques.
Benjamin Joy Jeffries.
Charles William Jenks.
Henry Angier Jenks.
Henry Fitch Jenks.
George Franklin Jewett.
Edward Francis Johnson.
Wolcott Howe Johnson.
Benjamin Mitchell Jones.

Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.
 Franklin Lawrence Joy,

K.

John Joseph Keenan.
 Andrew Paul Keith.
 William Vail Kellen.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 Reuben Kidner.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.
 Patrick Joseph Kyle.
 William Seward Kyle.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Henry Lefavour.

George Vasmer Leverett.
 Ernest Everett Lincoln.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 Wilford Jacob Litchfield.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Thomas Leonard Livermore.
 William Roscoe Livermore.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Arthur Lord.
 Calvin Lord.
 Samuel Crane Lord.
 Samuel Davis Lord.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 John Lowell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.
 William Henry Lyon.

M.

John Hildreth McCollom.
 Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Edward McLellan.
 John William McMahon.
 Frederick Mann.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 Francis Coffin Martin.

William Theophilus Rogers
Marvin.

John Reginold Marvin.
Charles Frank Mason.
Albert Matthews.
Nathan Matthews.
Frederick Goddard May.
Julian Augustus Mead.
Frank Merriam.
Albert Brown Merrill.
Roger Bigelow Merriman.
Edward Percival Merritt.
Thomas Minns.
Joseph Grafton Minot.
Robert Bruce Mitchell.
Samuel Jason Mixer.
John Torrey Morse, Jr.
William Russell Morse.
James Madison Morton.
Marcus Morton.
Ben Perley Poore Moseley.
Charles William Moseley.
Frank Moseley.
Frederick Strong Moseley.
Alfred Edgar Mullett.
James Gregory Mumford.

N.

Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
Warren Putnam Newcomb.
Arthur Howard Nichols.
Philip Tillotson Nickerson.
John Noble.
Joseph Warren Noble.
Grenville Howland Norcross.
Otis Norcross.
Henry Frothingham Noyes.
James Atkins Noyes.
Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

William Herbert Oakes.
John James O'Callaghan.
William Henry O'Connell.
Robert William Oliver.
James Monroe Olmstead.
Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
Francis Augustus Osborn.
William Newton Osgood.
Herbert Foster Otis.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
Walter Gilman Page.
Nathaniel Paine.
Charles Edwards Park.
Charles Percy Parker.
Frederick Wesley Parker.
Herbert Parker.
Moses Greeley Parker.
Percy Parker.
Peter Parker.
William Prentiss Parker.
Henry Parkman.
Leighton Parks.
James Parker Parmenter.
Charles Sumner Parsons.
Andrew Warren Patch.
John Endicott Peabody.
Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
George Grindley Spense
Perkins.
Alvah Henry Peters.
Frederick George Pettigrove.
Stephen Willard Phillips.
Edward Charles Pickering.
William Henry Pickering.
Dudley Leavitt Pickman.

Phineas Pierce.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
 David Pingree.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George Arthur Plympton.
 George Edward Pollard
 Robert Marion Pratt.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 Charles Pickering Putnam.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 Edward Melvin Raymond.
 Charles French Read.
 Philip Reade.
 Alanson Henry Reed.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 William Bernard Reid.
 Joseph Warren Revere.
 William Bacon Revere.
 James Ford Rhodes.
 Franklin Pierce Rice.
 Amor Hollingsworth Richardson
 Gedney King Richardson.
 Parker Jones Richardson.
 Spencer Cumston Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 William Cumston Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.

William Minard Richardson.
 Arthur Rhodes Robertson.
 Charles Stuart Robertson.
 William Robie.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 John Robinson.
 William Robinson.
 James Hardy Ropes.
 George Ivison Ross.
 George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 Arthur Prentiss Rugg.
 Frank Rumrill.
 William Stanton Rumrill.
 Thomas Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 Edward Keyes Sawyer.
 William Frederic Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 William Hunt Seabury.
 George Bowman Sears.
 Horace Scudder Sears.
 Thomas Oliver Selfridge.
 George Brune Shattuck.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 John Parker Rice Sherman.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 William Green Shillaber.
 Abraham Shuman.
 Howard Livingston Shurtleff.
 William Simes.
 William Stearns Simmons.

Denison Rogers Slade.
Arthur Reinhardt Smith.
Benjamin Farnham Smith.
Charles Card Smith.
Charles Francis Smith.
Charles Francis Smith, Jr.
Frank Langdon Smith.
Franklin Webster Smith.
Jeremiah Smith.
Mark Edward Smith.
Sidney Leroy Smith.
Charles Armstrong Snow.
Charles Carroll Soule.
Robert Alexander Southworth.
Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
Henry Harrison Sprague.
Philo Woodruff Sprague.
Rufus William Sprague.
Myles Standish.
Henry Porter Stanwood.
Charles Henry Stearns.
Roderick Stebbins.
Solon Whithed Stevens.
Howard Stockton.
Philip Stockton.
Edwin Albert Stone.
Lincoln Ripley Stone.
Moorfield Storey.
Augustus Whittemore Stover.
Willis Whittemore Stover.
Charles Edwin Stratton.
John Henry Studley.
Charles Herbert Swan.
Francis Henry Swan.
William Willard Swan.
Isaac Homer Sweetser.
Allen Swift.
Lindsay Swift.

T.

Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.
Charles Irving Thayer.
Eugene Van Rensselaer Thayer.
Ezra Ripley Thayer.
John Eliot Thayer.
William Roscoe Thayer.
Washington Butcher Thomas.
John Thompson.
Albert Thorndike.
Augustus Thorndike.
Augustus Larkin Thorndike.
John Larkin Thorndike.
James Brown Thornton.
Walter Eliot Thwing.
Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
William Hopkins Tillinghast.
James Pike Tolman.
David Howard Tribou.
Washington Benson Trull.
George Fox Tucker.
George Frederick Tufts.
Nathan Fitz Tufts.
John Franklin Turner.
Julius Herbert Tuttle.
Edward Royall Tyler.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.

W.

Frederick August Walker.
Henry Walker.
Henshaw Bates Walley.
Eugene Wambaugh.
Frank Edwards Warner.
Joseph Bangs Warner.
Charles Warren.

Edward Ross Warren.	James Henry Whitman.
Henry Lee Jaques Warren.	William Whitman.
John Warren.	David Rice Whitney.
John Collins Warren.	Morris Fearing Whiton.
Joseph Warren.	George Clark' Whittemore.
Lucius Henry Warren.	Albert Rufus Whittier.
Nathan Warren.	Charles Edward Wiggin.
William Fairfield Warren.	George Wigglesworth.
Winslow Warren.	Henry Crafts Wiley.
Walter Kendall Watkins.	Arthur Walter Willard.
Thomas Russell Watson.	Levi Lincoln Willcutt.
Winslow Charles Watson.	William Lithgow Willey.
Walter Frederick Watters.	Charles Herbert Williams.
Stephen Minot Weld.	George Frederick Williams.
Alfred Easton Wellington.	Henry Morland Williams.
Frederick Augustus Wellington.	Holden Pierce Williams.
Jonas Francis Wellington.	Horace Dudley Hall Williams.
Arthur Holbrook Wellman.	Joseph Williams.
Joshua Wyman Wellman.	Moses Williams.
Barrett Wendell.	Stillman Pierce Williams.
John Henry Westfall.	Albert Edward Winship.
Robert Dickson Weston.	William Henry Winship.
Thomas Weston.	Erving Winslow.
Thomas Weston, Jr.	Robert Winsor.
Winthrop Wetherbee.	Frederick Winthrop.
Henry Wheeler.	Robert Mason Winthrop.
Horace Leslie Wheeler.	Roger Wolcott.
Edmund March Wheelwright.	Samuel Huntington Wolcott.
George William Wheelwright.	William Prescott Wolcott.
William Gleason Wheildon.	George Gregerson Wolkins.
Bradlee Whidden.	John Woodbury.
Renton Whidden.	Henry Ernest Woods.
Stephen Hampden Whidden.	Frank Ernest Woodward.
Edwin Augustus White.	Frank Vernon Wright.
James Clarke White.	Frank Vernon Wright, Jr.
McDonald Ellis White.	George Wellman Wright.
William Edwin White.	

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give, devise, and bequeath to THE BUNKER HILL
MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, in the City of Boston, and Com-
monwealth of Massachusetts, incorporated in the year 1823,
the sum of ()

973.36606

Bu

1915

LIBRARY
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1915

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1915

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1915

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
MDCCCXV

THE RUMFORD PRESS
CONCORD, N. H.

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PROCEEDINGS

BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1915.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme in Boston at 10 o'clock on this day.

The Vice-President, Reverend JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D., occupied the chair.

Prayer was offered by Reverend WILLIAM H. LYON, D.D., of Brookline.

The Record of the last Annual Meeting was read and approved.

The Vice-President offered the Annual Address.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Esquire, addressed the Association on THE LANGUAGE OF WAR.

The acting Treasurer, BOYLSTON ADAMS BEAL, Esquire, presented his annual report of the finances, which had been audited by Messrs. CHARLES F. READ and WILLIAM O. COMSTOCK. It was accepted.

The two addresses, with the reports of the Treasurer and auditors, were referred to the Standing Committee for publication at its discretion.

The Association then elected as resident members the persons recommended by the Standing Committee.

On the recommendation of a Nominating Committee consisting of Messrs. H. H. EDES, JAMES ADAMS and

MCDONALD E. WHITE, the officers named on page 9 were duly elected by ballot.

Mr. Henry H. Edes offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Bunker Hill Monument Association has learned with great regret that its President, Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, has declined to be again a candidate for re-election, and while it feels compelled to accede to his wishes, it desires to express to him its deep appreciation of the value of his services. The Presidency of this Association was his almost by hereditary right, and through a long membership, and constant interest in its welfare, he was thoroughly familiar with its purposes and needs. With unfailing tact and courtesy he has presided over its meetings for ten years, and has added to their attraction by his presence and his wise counsel. Largely through his efforts, the Association is today free from debt; its Lodge at Bunker Hill has been improved and adorned; and the Society has increased in public favor and influence. In his retirement from office Dr. Warren will take with him the cordial regard and confidence of this Association, and an earnest expression of its hope that for years to come it may have the pleasure of his presence at its meetings and the benefit of his sound judgment in the conduct of its affairs.

It was passed unanimously.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

Bunker Hill Monument Association

OFFICERS FOR 1915-1916

President

JAMES DE NORMANDIE

Vice-Presidents

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio*

WINSLOW WARREN
JOHN DAVIS LONG

JOHN COLLINS WARREN
WILLIAM LAWRENCE

Treasurer

JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT

Secretary

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN

Directors

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
JAMES ADAMS
FREDERIC AMORY
FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON
EZRA HENRY BAKER
BOYLSTON ADAMS BEAL
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY BODFISH
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN
CHARLES ALLERTON COOLIDGE
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS
HENRY HERBERT EDES
WILLIAM ENDICOTT
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN
SAMUEL HAMMOND
WILLIAM PARKER HART
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
ROBERT HOMANS

MARK ANTONY DE WOLFE HOWE
HENRY FITCH JENKS
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
JOHN SILSBEE LAWRENCE
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT
WALDO LINCOLN
ARTHUR LORD
ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
CHARLES WILLIAM MOSELEY
FREDERICK STRONG MOSELEY
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK
JAMES PARKER PARMENTER
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND
WILLIAM LAMBERT RICHARDSON
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL
MOORFIELD STOREY
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
JULIUS HENRY TUTTLE
JOSEPH WARREN
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH
HENRY ERNEST WOODS

Board of Directors

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION

JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1868	JOHN DAVIS LONG (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1908
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	ARTHUR LORD	1908
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	CHARLES EDWARDS PARK	1908
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NOR-		WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	1909
CROSS	1883	JOSEPH WARREN	1909
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON	1910
JOSHUA PETER LANGLEY		JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT	
BODFISH	1885	(<i>Treasurer</i>)	1910
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	WILLIAM LAWRENCE (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1911
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893	FREDERIC STRONG MOSELEY	1911
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894	WILLIAM LAMBERT RICH-	
HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895	ARDSON	1911
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SAL-		CHARLES ALLERTON COOL-	
TONSTALL	1895	IDGE	1911
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN		FREDERIC AMORY	1912
(<i>Secretary</i>)	1896	WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1912
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES	1897	ROBERT HOMANS	1913
MOORFIELD STOREY	1897	JOHN SILSBEE LAWRENCE	1913
WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1897	JAMES ADAMS	1914
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH	1897	EZRA HENRY BAKER	1914
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	1898	BOYLSTON ADAMS BEAL	1914
JAMES DE NORMANDIE (<i>Pres-</i> <i>ident</i>)	1900	WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD	
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL	1900	ENDICOTT	1914
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT	1900	SAMUEL HAMMOND	1914
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER	1902	WILLIAM PARKER HART	1914
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS	1902	CHARLES WILLIAM MOSELEY	1914
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY	1902	JAMES PARKER PARMENTER	1914
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.	1902	CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS	1915
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD	1903	WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY	
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER	1903	FORD	1915
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON	1906	MARK ANTONY DE WOLFE	
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	1907	HOWE	1915
WALDO LINCOLN	1907	ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL	1915
		JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE	1915

STANDING COMMITTEE

JAMES DE NORMANDIE, <i>President</i>	} <i>Ex Officiis</i>
JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, <i>Treasurer</i>	
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, <i>Secretary</i>	
HENRY HERBERT EDES	
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT	
ARTHUR LORD	
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH	
CHARLES ALLERTON COOLIDGE	
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	
JOHN COLLINS WARREN	

ADDRESS OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

ADDRESS OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION:

It never could have occurred to me that, as the last in the list of vice-presidents, I should be called, even temporarily, to take the place which belonged to, and would be so much more worthily filled by, any one of the others, and although I earnestly protested, there seemed no escape; but I trust it will be only temporary. It is especially out of place that as one grows slow to hear, he should be swift to speak.

Some one kindly proposed my name, as a clergyman, to take the place made vacant by the death of my friend, Dr. Hale, or because I have found our meetings of so much historical interest that I have never willingly been absent. As I have often noticed in parish matters, it is common to suggest a person, for some religious gathering because he has been a constant worshiper,—but merely regular attendance, or long and strong friendship are by no means always good or sufficient reasons for public office in an association.

The great regret we all share that our late President, so eminently fitted in every way for the place, felt compelled to resign, is lessened by the earnest hope that before long he may consent to a re-election.

A physician of distinguished merit fulfilling the promise of the profession in a kindred of an earlier generation, among the first to give his life at Bunker Hill; one who cherishes all the early traditions of our plantation, gathering in his home everything relating to the battle which gives us a reason for our existence as a society; of a literary culture well-fitted for public address; of a gracious personality and hospitality, how shall we not all rejoice if again, with gratitude for his recovery, we may see him returned to this office!

The Board of Directors is fully aware that some of the criticisms, that more had not been done in the way of repairs and improvements on the Lodge, and on the monument grounds, are entirely just, and have not been disregarded, but the Board felt it was more important to keep free from debt, and as the last year brought about this fortunate condition, it will now turn its attention to doing everything possible for the protection and improvement of the grounds, the Lodge and the monument.

At our last meeting, it was moved that the Board of Directors be requested to consider the advisability of adding to the Association a goodly number of names of non-resident members, such members to be selected from distinguished citizens of states other than Massachusetts, and to be apportioned among those states in proper ratio with their population. Owning partly to the illness of Dr. Warren, the Standing Committee have not considered this suggestion and asks for further time upon this matter.

It is surely a good thing to come together on a spot of such early historical interest, and we never can recall, what Massachusetts did, for successive generations, and has always done in behalf of our country, still it might save us from too constantly dwelling upon our own efforts and sacrifices if we had with us representatives from other states which also have just reason to be proud of their sacrifices for our freedom. Perhaps some of you may recall an interesting meeting some years since when, I think two or three papers were read, showing what Massachusetts had done in the war of the Revolution, and with a very pardonable spirit of a kind of mutual admiration society rather giving the impression that she had about carried on the war herself.

A gentleman from Virginia who was present, one of our members and then rector of St. Paul's in Boston, was asked to say something, and in a most delightful manner, not without a slight suggestion of humor, said "he could not express the satisfaction he had had in listening to the papers; he loved to hear the praises of one's own state, he had been brought up in just such an atmosphere, and if we only put

Virginia in the place of Massachusetts, he agreed to it all." He then added a few words about Washington and Jefferson and Patrick Henry and sat down amid the hearty applause of the meeting.

Last year some discussion arose as to whether neglect had not been shown in not placing a tablet upon the monument giving credit or the names of those whose public spirit and generosity made the completion of it possible, but it was abundantly shown that no such neglect was justly chargeable; that the matter had been well considered again and again, and Edward Everett—and who in all the country was more competent to decide the subject?—offered a resolution which was heartily supported by Mr. Webster and others and unanimously passed, that the great object for which the obelisk was erected on Bunker Hill was monumental and not historical, and that it was not expedient that any record of names, dates or events connected with the battle should be inscribed upon it. The whole monument is an open testimony to the visiting world to the spirit which built it, and while everything relating to its history, or its helpers to build, to complete, and preserve are gathered in the adjoining Lodge, and there find their fitting preservation, any attempt to place a tablet would only belittle the monument. It does not need even the brief inscription at Thermopylae to bear witness to the patriotism and sacrifices of those and subsequent days.

ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS was born at Ware, Massachusetts, June 3, 1853, of an old Boston family, and died at Cornwall in Connecticut whither he had gone for rest from business, and for the purpose of regaining health and strength. He graduated at Harvard in 1874 and entered at once the business of banking in which he remained until his death. He was the senior partner of the banking house of Devens, Lyman & Co., and was largely connected with various other business interests. He had a beautiful estate, "White Lodge," at Manchester; he was prominent in many club circles; president of the Somerset Club, for a time of the Myopia Hunt Club, member and officer of the Essex County Club, the Exchange Club, and the Harvard Club of Newport; an ardent Republican,

and esteemed in a large circle of business and social friends.

HENRY WALKER died at Newton Highlands on the twentieth of December at the age of seventy-nine. He was a prominent figure in political and military affairs; a graduate of Harvard in a class including the distinguished names of Theodore Lyman, F. B. Sanborn, W. P. P. Longfellow, Alexander Agassiz and Phillips Brooks. He studied law in the office of Hutchins & Wheeler, and at the outbreak of the Civil War enlisted as adjutant of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of infantry, the first to be organized under the call of President Lincoln, the first to leave Massachusetts, and the first to reach Fortress Monroe. After sharing in some of the earlier battles of the war he returned home, and actively engaged in recruiting troops; in 1862 he was appointed colonel of the regiment, and in the Gulf Department continued in active service until the close of the war; he then returned and resumed the practice of the law in this city. He was for some time a member of the License Commissioners and chairman of the police commissioners, in which positions his interest and judgment were of substantial aid to the city. He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and as its Commander visited England to participate in the ceremonies of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Honorable Artillery Company of London, and there responded to the toast to Queen Victoria, in words which received much attention and praise. Of the various societies to which he belonged he cherished most the Grand Army of the Republic. He travelled much, read widely, and had a most retentive memory. A genial companion, a trusted citizen, a true lover of his country.

GARDINER MARTIN LANE was born in Cambridge, May 6, 1859 and died on the third of October, 1914, at an age when one might reasonably have anticipated from one who had such a robust and vigorous frame, many years of inspiring generosity, and entire devotion to the good interests which filled and adorned his life. His father was the esteemed professor of Latin at Harvard, and the son inherited many of those classical tastes

in literature and art, which only increased with his large business interests, kept him from being entirely engrossed by them, and gave much to the charm and culture of his busy life. Among his classmates were R. Clipston Sturgis, Curtis Guild, George A. Gordon, William R. Thayer, and Howard Elliott. In the year of his graduation, he found a place in the office of Messrs. Lee, Higginson & Co., but soon left it, to become interested in railroad matters by an offer which appealed to him, from Charles Francis Adams, devoted his great energies and good judgments to that business, travelled vast distances in trips of railroad inspection, and by reason of his success was offered one position after another, until in 1892 he again entered the banking firm with which he was early connected, and remained there until his death.

The large number of business activities with which Mr. Lane was connected, in which he was director, trustee, treasurer, vice-president, or president, and where his vigilance, his untiring energy, his decisions, his judgments were constantly sought and regarded as of great value, and to which he gave so much time and care, fill one with astonishment and reveal a rare business capacity. In many social matters, Mr. Lane was just as prominent, interested and sought—a member of the old Wednesday Evening Club; of the Somerset and Harvard of Boston; the Brookline Country; the Essex County; the Manchester Yacht Club; The Colonial Society; the Knickerbocker, Harvard, University and Brook Clubs of New York—everywhere his generous hospitality, his pleasant companionship, his genial manners were marked and prized,—and above all at his beautiful summer estate, “The Chimneys,” at Manchester. All these did not exhaust his interest, his support, his generosity. His love for his Alma Mater only deepened with years, as did his constant readiness to help those who needed aid in their educational seekings. He provided means for lectures in classical literature and literary subjects at Harvard; he was treasurer of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, and of the American School at Athens, and of the Boston Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, and held various offices connected with the government and interests

of Harvard. In many matters of philanthropy persons turned at once to Mr. Lane for advice and help and found him always a ready listener and supporter. Was it the sufferer by the Ohio flood, the San Francisco or Messina earthquake, the famine in Japan, the Galveston tidal wave, the European War Fund, the Salem Fire Fund, the National Red Cross Society, and at the last the sufferers by the European war, he was always ready as treasurer, contributor, sympathizer, benefactor, friend. Above everything else, in the later years of his life, Boston owes to him a debt of supreme gratitude for the interest he took in the Museum of Fine Arts, as trustee, efficient adviser, generous benefactor and most successful in appealing to others for its aid, of whom in this work President Eliot says, "as President he displayed unfailing good feeling, tact and wisdom, and his administration, though only seven and a half years in length, will be conspicuous in the history of the institution for liberal policies, great gifts, and a remarkable growth in public influence."

His funeral was attended by a large gathering of those who were grateful for his many and large gifts, and manifested an unmistakable affection and sense of loss. Here was no seeking for office, no thirst for laudation, no shrinking from responsibility, only a constant and deepening desire to bring his life to the service of others; a public-spirited citizen who found, as those always find who strive for the higher things, that life brings with it a sense of gladness, and many found it true of him, that "A faithful friend is the medicine of life."

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, a Boston merchant of ideal type, was born in Beverly in 1826 and died on the seventh of November last. It is remarkable that it should fall to my lot to speak at one meeting of two Bostonians, one indeed in the midst and promise of life's activities, the other in a ripe age, but both of the highest order of citizenship, holding high offices in innumerable business, educational, philanthropical and social institutions, both of marked public spirit and service, of extraordinary business energy and ability, both giving and persuading others to give wisely, liberally and constantly to every good measure, both modest and unostentatious in their works of benevolence;

and that in the same year two such friends of humanity should be taken from this Association, and from our acquaintance in this city. In 1846, at the age of twenty, Mr. Endicott was taken into the store of C. F. Hovey which had just been established on Winter Street, and here was his business home for nearly sixty-four years, and in its high character for integrity, open and fair dealing, he found his early training in his father's store in Beverly a great help, for Mr. Hovey would have only that; nothing but one price for goods, from which there was to be no departure to secure a customer. But very soon Mr. Endicott found that business only did not satisfy his nature, and just as business success brought him means and the opportunity, he interested himself in many outside affairs, and his membership in other associations far outnumbered his merely business connections. He helped to establish the Institute of Technology, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and the Boston Art Museum; was interested in the McLean Asylum, the Perkins Institute for the Blind, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society and Harvard University. His private and public benefactions reached enormous figures, his charity wisely and privately given was unceasing, and it was said that at one time he had perhaps contributed more to charitable and benevolent institutions than any other citizen of Boston. He was an anti-slavery man from the beginning, but never an extreme Abolitionist, and in the anxious, dark, and stormy days of our Civil War, he was the tried friend and counsellor of Governor Andrew, John M. Forbes, and President Lincoln, and yet in all his ways was simple, unassuming, democratic, high-minded, beneficent, believing in the essential goodness and possibilities of human nature. I wish all of you might have heard, or might read his story of "Reminiscences of Seventy-Five Years," as he told it to the Massachusetts Historical Society. How small his business beginnings were; how frugal his life; how inexpensive living was, how trifling salaries when Mr. Endicott and Mr. Charles A. Dana thought themselves comfortable with three hundred and fifty dollars a year, and good board at three dollars a week. How few of what we

now look upon as the comforts and necessities of civilization, when the use of coal had first begun; how numb his fingers were cold winter mornings when matches were unknown, and striking the spark from the flint was not always successful, when there was no railroad in Massachusetts, and it took four hours to come from Beverly; how small Boston was, how slow and infrequent its means of communication with Europe.

It might be excused if at times, as life drew to its close and the ways of business changed, Mr. Endicott felt that in the mighty competition, and great haste to accumulate large fortunes, some of the earlier and high standards he cherished were by many lost sight of, and honor in trade was declining, but after all we are better off than when Buckle, writing of the "History of Civilization in England" says it was customary for shop keepers to have on hand a bag of spurious coins to pass upon the unsuspecting buyer whenever possible. He did not have to wait for the Ghost in Dickens' Christmas story to acknowledge, "I wear the chain I forged in life. I made it link by link, and year by year; I girded it on of my own free will, and of my own free will I wear it," or for the future life to declare the true business; "business," cried the ghost, "Mankind was my business; the common welfare was my business, charity, mercy, forbearance and benevolence were all my business. The dealings of my trade were but a drop of water in the comprehensive ocean of my business."

Mr. Endicott found as he went along the higher meaning of business. His works praise him in the gates.

Perhaps there has never been any very prominent man in private and public affairs, the salient features of whose character were known and read of all men as readily as those of CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. In the tributes paid to him, from all parts of the country, and from persons of every variety of gifts and occupations, a most remarkable sameness pervades them all. It could not be otherwise. Mr. Adams was open, vigorous, emphatic, easily understood, with no attempts at concealment, but with the same plain dealing and expression he used that he liked of others. He has been so much in the knowledge of the public by his business and literary activities, and

all this has been so widely acknowledged and reviewed in every manner of publication very recently that I need not pause to refer to them at length. I wish to note some characteristics which came under my notice, and made him a very interesting and pronounced and attractive type of our New England manhood. The great-grandson of our second President; the grandson of the sixth President, the son of our minister to England at a most critical period of our history, a man more than a match for the trained diplomacy of Palmerston, because he believed that diplomacy was to seek and rest upon truth and humanity and liberty, while Palmerston thought it was to conceal and deceive about all these; the subject of our sketch inherited and deepened the characteristic traits of his remarkable family—but there was no boast of nor dwelling upon, or reference to them, and no one ever combined at the same time more that was truly democratic and aristocratic respect for the masses, and respect for the best.

Mr. Adams early enlisted in the Civil War, and there displayed that courage which dominated his whole life, and appeared in all his writings and conversation. After the war he was much engaged in railroad affairs, but he is always to be remembered and honored for his busy and remarkable literary work. A member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, he never hesitated to attack with his usual sharp and incisive criticism what he regarded as the weaknesses of modern education which ignored modern demands for the Elective System, and denounced the prominence still given to the Classics, and the Greek as a "College Fetish," but Mr. Adams was himself a remarkable example of the value of a college course, and of the study of the languages, which clearly appear in his writings. It is not to be supposed that any system of education centuries old, is, without constant modifications, altogether suited to the demands of our day. Education always has been and always will be a process of evolution. Much of the dissatisfaction (and it would arise under any system) is because education does not furnish brains where nature has not seen fit to bestow them, and because it does not provide the ability of getting on in the world (which means rapid

riches in our materialistic race for mere *things*) to thousands for whom getting on in the world is only worse. The elective system is of great value as soon as one begins to develop a taste or gift for any work in life, but this does not often appear very early and, until it does, a course of study from the experience of ages may be the best foundation. We are all average students, and with the exception of a few remarkable instances of those who show exceptional gifts and long to have everything minister to them, the curriculum adapted to the average mind is the best, and out of it will arise those minds of supreme leadership, like the giants of the California forests. To place before immature persons vast courses of study to choose from is pretty sure to encourage a love of ease, and escape from hard study, an idea that all education might as well be a pleasant thing. As for the classics it is easy enough to indulge in the vulgar cry of the uselessness of learning dead languages of which in a few years one cannot read a page—but there is another side to all that.

There are some like Burns or Lincoln, or the Shepherd of Tekoa, who have a wonderful power of inspiring or appealing to others without any of the training of the schools; but we dare not measure ourselves by them. Language is always the power by which soul speaks to soul, mind influences mind, and it is no waste to know something of language as it has been brought to great force and perfection. It is a good thing to know even a little of what has influenced and adorned other ages. The Latin was the language of a nation of rigid discipline, of conquerors of whom it was said you could trace their commanding features written all over their faces, and the study of which was like a tonic. The Greek was the language of beauty, of grace, of harmony; giving a charm and fascination to conversation never equalled; a nation of brilliant talkers. Athens never was a large town but there were over three hundred places whither the citizens gathered at early dawn to listen to those whose speech was as finished as the Parthenon.

Dull, tedious, worthless, wasteful, as the work of our colleges may seem, and easy its criticism, still there are multitudes who confess what untold comfort and solace from the

toils of business and the dissatisfactions of life it is to them, and they enter into the beautiful praise of Cicero for "these studies."

Mr. Adams was a large, ready, constant contributor to periodical literature in the *North American*, the *Forum*, *Nature*, and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was President from 1895 until his death. He was the author of numerous addresses, miscellaneous papers, and lectures on New England history, not sparing the truth in very plain statements about the social and moral conditions of the Puritans, many of which, their descendants thought had better have remained under cover.

In all historical matters he was a most earnest, painstaking student, with diligent investigation, a keen curiosity for facts and truth, and a fearlessness in stating them, which in his style made history as fascinating as a novel. In the meetings of the Massachusetts Historical Society he was at his best, and if there was any pause, or failure of speakers, he had papers of inestimable worth, from family associations reaching back to our early days, and he was fair and patient as a presiding officer could be towards the slow, and the bores who will appear at times, and most trying to one so quick and alert as Mr. Adams, when there was no opportunity for him to sleep in the Chair.

It was at his country residence in Lincoln that he appeared most interesting. In his large and beautiful home, surrounded by broad acres, fine woods, and the view of the modest lake, there was always a genial and dignified hospitality, and beneath the sharp, brusque manner a frank, generous, sympathizing, warm-hearted man full of thoughtful services to others. "You and I," he wrote to me, "are neighbors and citizens of Lincoln, and we might as well be the one in South Africa, and the other in South America. Now this is not the way to live." Many are the instances of generous help to persons there when in need, and it was at the Lincoln town meeting that he made almost his last public appearance.

The last time we came out of town together, after a talk upon the war which he thought exceeded all human conceptions

of wrong and folly, as we parted at the station, he said, "Well, Germany is mad, all Europe is mad, the world is mad," and putting out his finger, "as the Quaker said to his wife, 'everybody is mad except thee and me, and I think thee is a little touched.'"

The war set him to reading a good deal of the literature where, by its philosophers, and statesmen and clergymen, Germany is attempting to convince the world, not only that it is the chosen people of God, but that the only real good for a land is a government founded upon force, resting upon slavery, and ruled by an aristocracy; and it brought him to the conclusion that rather than "think Germanically I would rather cease thinking at all. It is the absolute rejection of everything which has in the past tended to the elevation of mankind and the installation in place thereof of a system of thorough dishonesty emphasized by brutal stupidity." He might have added of "universal falsehood."

Once the agent of our Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Convicts, of which I had charge for over twenty years, in his annual round for contributions made his way to Mr. Adams' office, and met, to say the least, with no gracious reception, but had laid upon his desk our circular, and seeing my name at its head, Mr. Adams called him back and said, "if my friend De Normandie is willing to waste his time in trying to help and reform such an ungodly set as discharged convicts, most of which had better never been discharged, and who are beyond all hope of restoration, I will help him," and gave him a check for a large amount with a promise of more when he called again.

Mr. Adams' lectures on the Civil War at Oxford were not gratifying to an English audience, who were bitterly repenting of England's attitude, although Mr. Adams had all the undeniable facts, so they listened in respectful silence. Ambassador Bryce, who had just received a title of nobility—and I suppose any true Englishmen who becomes titled thinks more of that than of the Lord of the universe—told Mr. Adams that he thought the Americans had greatly misunderstood the general feelings of the English at that time. "Why, Mr. Adams,"

I said, "could Ambassador Bryce really have said that? Do you not recall that at a dinner at your home the summer before, Mr. Bryce asked me of some of the English with whom I had become acquainted, and mentioning the name of Mr. Gair, he said, 'Oh, Mr. Henry Gair of Liverpool, yes, a personal friend of mine and a fine type of an Englishman.'" And I added "just as I was leaving his home, Mr. Gair said, 'What has interested you most in this visit?'" I replied "the great change which has come over you all since I was here before." "When was that?" he asked. I added, "Just after our Civil War, when at hotels, in the railway carriages, and even in private houses, wherever I was known as an American, I was subjected to some severe or reproachful or insulting remarks." "Yes," said Mr. Gair, "yes, yes, we made an awful mistake, but I have to confess, I did not know a single person in Liverpool, who did not want to see you broken all to pieces," and Ambassador Bryce added, "Yes, it was too bad it was all true, and it was all cotton." Mr. Adams said, "Your experience so exactly corresponds with my own in visiting England just after the war when everywhere I was regarded as some kind of a wild animal, that I have sent your letter to Ambassador Bryce."

Mr. Adams had long given up the habit of going to church; but at the celebration of the completion of fifty years in the ministry, I was surprised in looking over the congregation, to see Mr. Adams, who, thinking it was an historical matter, had motored in from Lincoln with two or three other members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some days after he wrote me a long letter freely confessing his meditations as he sat in that ancient church. "The occasion" he wrote, "was to me far more redolent of the times of the Apostle Eliot, and of Anne Hutchinson, confined all winter in the cellar of a brother of the Minister Weld, after her excommunication by the First Church in Boston. Then, too, the appearance of the worshippers impressed me; their eminent respectability and culture; not a person for whom religion is intended, the poor, the humble, the contrite, the meek, the broken-hearted, and so few children. Why, when I went to the church of my ances-

tors, the large square pews of the Quincy Church were all filled with children." I said, "You know, Mr. Adams, you know respectable persons do not have children now, and if they do they are all out motoring on Sundays."

Mr. Adams continued, "the whole aspect of the congregational worship is to me repulsive. I go to a cathedral in Europe and I see a poor, ragged, dirty woman come and stand or sit by a princess, and there is no surprise and no repulsion, or a poor widow comes in and kneels before the cross, and says her prayers alone in the great temple, and goes out comforted. Who, under heaven, ever saw any sad or broken-hearted woman come into a congregational church, kneel down, say her prayers, and go out comforted! Then, too, each one has his pew, stall, I might say, and any stranger is remanded to seats in the galleries, or among the poor. It seemed to me," he added, "as I sat and meditated there that day, something of the same thoughts must have come to me as to you, that you were ministering to a decadent institution."

That is not the view only of one thoughtful, scholarly observer of the theological condition today—but in view of the awful unrest, murderous and unparalleled cruelty and destruction in all Europe today; it is the serious reflection of many millions who feel the decadence and overthrow of the civilization and the Christianity, so far below our ideals and our professions, and putting us for the present under a heavy cloud.

All in all, Mr. Adams was a man of large scholarship, of high principles, of great public interests, and generous private charities, a type by which the state must always be enriched: who believed in good citizenship, and the service and welfare of the community. If brusque, and to some eccentric and severe, high-minded, democratic, he was an earnest student until the very end.

Men may come and men may go, and it seems to be left to Providence very often to raise up several who may divide, and carry on the work of one, but it will be some time before the void is filled, made by the death of Charles Francis Adams.

It has been our custom, at our annual meeting, to offer memorials only of those who have been Directors. I propose to make an exception, and if ever warrantable, you will surely agree with me, it is of such a life and services as of CURTIS GUILD. He was so prominent in every matter referring to our state, a governor of such growing and independent power, such a worthy representative of our country to the great empire of Russia, interested in so many good offices as editor and citizen, a few words about him are most fitting.

To many his manner at first seemed rather haughty and unapproachable,—nothing could be farther from his real nature. Never was there a better illustration of true democracy. He loved the people, and in every capacity he strove to help them, and was always ready to assist in every social betterment, and was a favorite with young and old. He had a quickness in acquiring knowledge, and a special gift as a linguist, so that when he had anything to do in other lands, or with foreigners here, he made himself acquainted with their language, so as at least to make himself understood, and most pleasing. I have heard that immediately upon his appointment to Russia, he set himself to learn its language, so that at a court reception at St. Petersburg, he was designated to introduce the representatives of the various legations, and fulfilled the office in a dignified and acceptable manner. He was interested in many philanthropies, a man of true courage in approving and enlarging the civil service appointments, many-sided, warm-hearted, of large executive abilities, a public speaker of much force, always ready to help in public or private matters, and loyal to his friends and those of a common political faith. There seemed before him years of greater honors to himself, and greater usefulness to our city, our state and our nation.

Can you recall, fellow members of our Association, any year when so many well-known and influential citizens have been taken from us; men so thoroughly in earnest about the things which make for good citizenship? They had not forgotten the ideals which found expression in the early years of our land, of that parting desire of Washington "that a free government

with good laws was the favorite object of his land." Their end was sooner than we thought, but when would it come to those of such usefulness if the striking of the clock were left to us?

"When all have done their utmost, surely he
Hath given the best who gives a character
Erect and constant, which nor any shock
Of loosened elements, nor the forceful sea
Of flowing and of ebbing fates can stir
From its deep bases in the living rock
Of ancient manhood's sweet security."

Our meeting today ought to be to us especially sacred, when, in the midst of a world war with not one high motive, nothing but territorial acquisition, or racial hatred, or personal tyranny, ambition or covetousness, we call to mind those who for true liberty here fired a shot heard round the world.

ADDRESS OF
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

THE LANGUAGE OF WAR

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

After one hundred and forty years the essayist finds it difficult—impossible—to say anything novel on the battle itself or on the principles it represented. Time has dealt kindly with previous effusions, and much to our credit the Fourth of July quality has steadily receded into the background. So of the military, every point of tactics and behavior has been determined; the rubbish heap of facts has been raked over and over again, until the part played by every named individual has been outlined if not established. The brilliant and the sordid, the reckless sacrifice of life and the cowardly run for safety are known, and a balance struck. Americans and British did their utmost, hampered by natural conditions or faulty leadership, and today British and Americans may freely admit the faults while sharing in the glory of that hillside conflict. There are some things in doubt, of course; but so long as we have the imaginative historian we are not going to admit ignorance. Rather a dozen versions of an incident of no importance, than one confession of ignorance.

The annals of provincial New England do not offer exhilarating reading, if the conquest of the frontier be eliminated. Village life did not lack for routine, much the same routine as applies to farm life of today; and town life on the coast responded more readily to outer influences than to problems of internal management. Rural records are soporific, needing the human interest which church and court records supply; and the monotonous buzz of names and events of small importance lead almost to a surprised feeling when anything of import does occur.

Picture the life in a village of New England about 1760 and one must go far to tell more than a safe story. The farm and its unceasing needs, the Sundays and their sociable opportuni-

ties, the town meeting, the occasional journeys to town to truck, and the newspaper largely composed of extracts from European sources, this is not a life to excite. A suit for slander, a lapse from morality, the taking of a criminal were events to produce a mild variety, surprise for a day. In the towns the arrival and departure of ships, and the greater social intercourse in taverns, clubs and homes, leave an impression of wider views. The Addisonian essay, as far as possible from Addison; poetry which is not poetry at all; the phalanx of Brutus, Americanus, Vindex, Vox Populi, and other standard contributors, the joke a little off color, the foreign *cause célèbre* rich in color—such are the literary features. The advertisements are more interesting. There is the usual announcement of the arrival of European or Indian goods named with meticulous detail; the opportunity to get books which our great grandmothers read with zest, our mothers blushed when the titles were named, our children will not permit us to read. Cloths with odd names, articles no longer to be found in a modern store and comfits and liquors which are now derived from wholly other sources and masquerade under new names with the carton and paper trimmings which have sent up the price of living. Then the printer was always in search of rags, for paper was real in those days; and some future citizen or citizeness in town was always in want of a healthy woman with a good breast of milk. Women, then as now, left bed and board, and were advertised without the more or less fictitious portrait and the wholly fictitious account which are served up to us as news. Franklin's father and mother shamelessly advertised their soaps and candles and itch remedy; the bookseller sold drugs and the printer proclaimed an incomparable worm-destroying sugar plum. The materia medica bore the Scotch stamp, but was mortal enough, no matter what the clime. A runaway servant or slave, a stray cow or an impounded pig or horse—surely the annals of peace are restful and homely.

At the capital the politics of the town accentuates differences; the rivalry of individuals becomes the rivalry of factions, almost of parties; but the presence of the royal officers, repre-

sentatives of an authority of unknown extent and of latent powers, exercises a wholesome influence of restraint upon the exuberance of the ever-present agitator. The insignia of authority, the courts, the bridewell and an occasional public execution, and the dignity of council and legislature, capable of becoming active instruments for reward, discipline or punishment, give in town life a freer play to action. From rich to poor, and all the social conditions thus implied, the contrast is greater, and out of contrast comes a pictorial effect for the historical canvas.

Such a community, however, possessed a quality at once its strength and its danger—a restiveness under restraint, and a democratic spirit ill-brooking opposition. The early settlers of Massachusetts Bay had not been here five years before some charged them with disloyalty to king and church, as meditating independence, and the charge remained standing till 1775, without being disproved. On the frontier, frontier freedom pervaded the colonies, and it needed only an occasion for union of thought and action to make that freedom aggressive. For this union Great Britain schooled her American subjects, blindly and ignorantly, but as we believe for the advantage of the world. The process of education was long, and as trying to pupils as to master; in the end it was sufficiently productive of results to merit a full independence. In peace and in wars with Indians or French, loyalty to king had operated, and to the casual observer the colonies of 1765 were not so different politically from those of 1665 as to awaken apprehensions on either side. Yet 1765, as compared to 1775, is as a monotone of neutral grey to a vivid splash of yellow and carmines. In ten years the real life of town and country, outside of the necessary routine, had altered, for the people were talking another language—one which in the earlier time would have been almost unintelligible. If the shaft on Bunker Hill more clearly represents any one change, it is this alteration, itself a mark of a political upheaval of lasting effect on the community. The suddenness of the alteration, though long coming and in a measure apprehended, was startling.

At the beginning of April, 1775, Boston was a comparatively quiet town, peaceful in a consciousness of the strength of its royal party. At the end of the month, Boston was a besieged town, all movement regulated under martial law, all intercourse subject to military rules, all correspondence under strict censorship. In a few hours Boston was shut up tight. Pelham, Copley's half-brother, gives an account of what happened, the more striking because of its direct simplicity. Learning of the troubles in the country—the Concord-Lexington affair—he started for Newton in a chaise. They refused to let him cross at the ferry, pleading the high winds, but really guarding the movements of the British troops, and so lost an hour in going round by the Neck. His brother at Newton could not remove into Boston, and Pelham continued on to Cambridge. He was unable to return to Boston by Cambridge bridge, which had been taken up, and went round by Watertown bridge in safety. With great good fortune, too; for Harry Bromfield also went to Cambridge the same day, sought to return by the ferry, found all traffic stopped by order of the general, and just escaping the retreating British forces he was obliged to remain in the country thirteen days, unable to see or communicate with his friends in Boston.

Long did the memory of the people dwell upon the "horrors of that dreadful day"—April 19. "Consternation is pictured in every face, every Cheek grows Pale, every lip trembles at the Recital of the Horrid tale." So wrote Henry Pelham two weeks after the event. Only six weeks before, the "bloody tragedy" of March 5, the so-called Boston Massacre, had been commemorated with a disquisition on the rights of property and persons by Dr. Joseph Warren. The massacre became of no significance after Lexington, a mere incident in a chain of circumstances. Yearly the formal commemoration was held until 1783, when it naturally passed into the 4th of July oration—the great fact of independence swallowed all lesser and contributing incidents.

No one could speak of any thing but of the bloodshed, and horror and indignation gave rise to language hitherto used among a small circle of men labelled "dangerous" by their

opponents. The language was justified in the event, as feelings indescribable in ordinary phrases followed the actual presence of force. Take an extreme case—that of a professor in the college, and a star-gazer, as even a daily course as could be found.

It is with mingled feelings that we read Mrs. John Winthrop's letter describing her flight from Cambridge to Andover on the news of Lexington; the horrors of that midnight cry, the passing of the British troops, the congregation of seventy women and some children at a house near Fresh Pond, women whose husbands had gone to meet the marauders, the sounds of the guns, the anxious knowledge of death among their dearest. Then on the next day they move from Cambridge towards Andover, alternately riding and walking, the roads filled with frightened women and children, some in carts with their tattered furniture, others on foot making for the shelter of woods; and in their journey they pass the dead, still stretched by the roadside where they fell, those first victims of "British tyranny." Even at twenty miles from the seacoast the sense of security is imperfect. In a surrounding of almost pristine quiet and with nature at its greatest beauty, Mrs. Winthrop describes the flight of her friend Mercy Warren, and, after the fashion of the day, quotes Milton and moralizes on the possible ruin at Harvard: "the youth dispersed, the hands of their preceptors sealed up; those fountains of knowledge, the library and apparatus, entirely useless, and perhaps may fall into those hands whose highest joy would be to plunge us into darkness and ignorance that we might become fitter subjects for slavery and despotic rule." This is a good picture of the state of mind created by Lexington, though a long passage from *Paradise Lost* and the stilted language of the writer raise a smile; but the wife longs to be "restored to that peaceful abode, that happy roof, where, relieved from all the glitter and noise of the gay and busy world, my consort would joy to finish his mortal life in investigating the great temple of the skies and adoring the divine Architect of heaven; and quietly quitting this lower creation." Under the stilted language we feel the shocked sensibilities, the outraged confidence in life,

the loss of a security and intercourse which made the delight of existing.

Families were divided, arbitrarily, by accident as often as by design. The king's men rushed to Boston, the patriots fled to the surrounding towns, and days, weeks and months passed without opportunity for exchanging a word except by stealth or in the presence of a restraining officer. Gage first said the inhabitants of Boston could go, then he altered his mind. Why? Because the presence of these non-combatants meant a protection to his men—a shield against attack. Women and children separated from husbands and fathers, sufficiently close to Boston to hear the guns and fear invasion, they passed weeks of heart-breaking uncertainty—loyalists and patriots alike. Each looked upon the other as desperate murderers, and both were right, if faith was placed in the language—that which was now spoken from governor to jailbird, from committeeman to farmhand. As the original meaning of threat is a crowd or throng, so the natural expression of a crowd is the threat or menace. Some could use such language fittingly, and they had an unfortunate position of weight.

Placeman—a word of sinister meaning—implies an opinion of predicable qualities—like boss, or good party man of today. His opinions, however interesting, need not concern the political arithmetician beyond mere numbers in estimating the uncertain elements of a problem. Probably it is true that the influence of the Hutchinson-Oliver family was dominant; at least they possessed the means of expressing their opinions in an authoritative form. For this the royal officers from tide-waiter to lieutenant-governor had paved the way. A royal warrant, with army and navy behind it, carried weight. Treason was too elastic a word to be lightly handled, but personal influence could be combated by means not open to a charge of treason. To overthrow this Hutchinson influence and even to impeach the judges to accomplish this end, gave a central energy to opposition in a quarter where it could make itself most felt. More than that, by interpreting the charter, itself the British constitution in miniature, it gave a tongue and a consistency to what had been undefined, a force in

solution, requiring heat to become properly offensive. Lawyers supplied the needed element, and in legislature and in town meeting the opposition took shape and forged weapons on constitutional grounds. The position of the judiciary in the United States was lastingly established by this very agitation. It was in developing the spirit of the British constitution, that higher portion which had not yet been written or recognized, that the spirit of revolution passed from an agitating into an effective force.

Governor Hutchinson at least knew with some definiteness what he wanted to say, whether we adopt the view of the opposition, that he was bent upon monopolizing office for his family connections; or that of his party, that he was an upright man possessed of legal and historical sense. What he wrote would command attention in England, for he was the king's representative in Massachusetts. When he informed the ministry, in 1771, that the disorders in the colonies must be attributed to a common cause, "a loose, false, and absurd notion of the nature of government which has been spread by designing, artful men, setting bounds to the supreme authority, and admitting parts of the community and even individuals to judge when those bounds are exceeded, and to obey or disobey accordingly," he took the most certain means possible of awakening the ministry, sensitive on their questioned authority. The supreme authority resided only in parliament and the duty of the ministry was to preserve that supremacy. The language of power could go no further in asserting that there was no limitation on that authority which a colonist could legally impose. Hutchinson's words were the last which his opponents would have used, yet he used the same authorities and precedents. He only spoke the official tongue, using arguments coming from the advisers to the king, and all the underlings of government followed in the same track.

John Mein was one of Boston's printers, with pronounced sympathies and of frank expression. That he was obliged to leave Boston because of his attacks on the Whigs implies nothing to his discredit, but naturally colored his views of Anglo-American relations. Loyalist to the bone, he could see

little deserving in the colonists' position. Writing in January, 1775, from London, he said: "Every body here who is not paid by the Colonies has a very proper sense of the present contest. Those who find their Emolument in deceiving the Colonies will continue to deceive them as long as their Emolument continues. Your Province [Massachusetts] is considered here as in declared rebellion: Outlawries, Confiscations, and Executions are looked upon to be the certain Consequences. The Men of Property who are the Ringleaders will be the only objects of punishment; the deluded populace are already universally objects of Commiseration." To him no one in England sympathized with the protesting colonists unless subsidized; merchants consulted their pockets; and the great majority of the colonists were deluded and led into error by the "atrocious villainy of a few most abandoned men." Mein was familiar with a Boston town meeting, but his interpretation of its action was no compliment to his wisdom.

On the other hand known favorers of authority were denounced as tories, enemies to the liberties of America; persons, of hitherto upright and blameless lives, who could not go to the same lengths as the full patriots, were put in the same class, badgered and threatened, subjected to insult and to fear of bodily outrage. A churchman, meaning a member of the church of England, suffered because of his membership; a councillor, mandamus or other, was persecuted because of his official position; a merchant or storekeeper, because he refused to sacrifice his interests upon the throw of the political dice. So authority looked to force to restrain meetings of the disaffected; the laws and army would repress open disorder; the restoration of the king's rule would be followed by dire punishment on the rebels or patriots. As the feeling became more and more tense, the threats on either side became stronger, the acts leaned to lawlessness, and the language, seeking to define rights and wrongs, difficult of definition, became strident, more unjust, and of less real meaning. A mad dog is no watch dog; running amuck he is a menace and a terror to friend as well as to foe. The royal officers saw only a mob of misguided and excited men, who could neither

manage themselves nor be regulated by others. They turned naturally to force, and were amazed to see its feeble effect. Army and navy, instruments of force, could not touch the difficulty, and became odious even to their friends.

Gage, welcomed as a gentle and well-intentioned master, soon became the "perfidious and inhuman Gage." John Lovell whistled to maintain his courage, remaining in town to protect patriots' property from a set of villains—some of them his quondam friends—and denounced the shilly shally conduct of the general towards the citizens. His words grow in intensity as the year passes, and by December he writes: "The Savages of our Western Borders are Children of Nature, unworthy to hold a candle to these scientific Barbarians from Oxford, Cambridge and the Middle Temple, who lead the servile Tribes of Sixpenny Murderers." Lovell was a school-master, but he did not wish to return to his task of teaching the sons of villains. Andrew Eliot wrote that "if Great Britain should finally subjugate us, I fear for the College, I fear for the churches"—as if the country were to be reduced to a desert. All property had not only become precarious, it had mentally been already annihilated. Provincetown, with good selection of words, described suspected tories as vermin, and treated the few thrown upon its shores as old-time wreckers dealt with the gifts of the sea. The language and acts are strangely reminiscent—they recur with altered names in every war of modern times.

The British officer of a kind retorted in much the same language. Captain Evelyn of the King's Own wrote to a cousin, in August, 1775: "England will find out that some other mode must be adopted than gaining every little hill at the expense of a thousand Englishmen; and if they mean to continue masters of this country, they will lay aside that false humanity towards these wretches which has hitherto been so destructive to us. They must lay aside the notion that hurting America is ruining Great Britain, and they must permit us to restore to them the dominion of the country by laying it waste, and almost extirpating the present rebellious race, and upon no other terms will they ever possess it in peace."

But the army never found an opportunity to impose such methods upon the country, except in spots; and cruel as were the deeds perpetrated on both sides, but a small part of the people knew of the war by actual contact with its terrors. Boston experienced the first dip into horrors, and denounced the burning of Charlestown as "the most unjustifiable, cruel action ever committed by any barbarians." Panic ensued in neighboring places—like Salem—many leaving it for more secure quarters. Falmouth, Norfolk, New London—the record would be a long one. Did any of those descents yield advantage partially to compensate for the shameful cowardice of attacking undefended places? Yet, protesting against arbitrary measures of Great Britain, the colonists endured and enforced all manner of arbitrary measures from their own side.

The Boston merchants were not of a flighty disposition. They took large chances in their commercial operations, for their ships went far and dipped into trades forbidden by law. They represented a substantial body of conservatism, deeming that the risks imposed by nature required no aggravation from commissioners of customs and admiralty courts. Against the one they could take precautions; but when it came to deciding between acts of Parliament and royal officers on the one hand, and the irresponsible acts of self-constituted committees composed of their rivals in trade or of persons having no commercial interests on the other, their lot became difficult indeed. Suspected by the customs, denounced by committees, deprived of their commodities and hounded by their creditors, they tasted to the dregs the bitterness of political commerce, one made to conform to any restrictions other than those based upon the free course of trade. Their London correspondents watched with apprehension the approaching storm. Some English merchants deeply involved in American connections reflected a colonial point of view and urged firmness in opposing arbitrary acts of Parliament; the majority sided with the king. The American replies were also moderate though tinged with a sense of injustice, of loss wrongly inflicted, of surprise at the forces aroused. If the father-in-law of Copley suffered persecution for having tea consigned to him, John Rowe was

thus accosted at the well-frequented Coffee House by an officer of the British troops just introduced into Boston in 1768: "Ha John, are you there? Dammy I expected to have heard of your being hanged before now, for dammy you deserve it." Upon which Rowe replied, "Surely Captain Dundass, you're joking." "No," said Dundass, "dammy if I am. You are an incendiary and I hope to see you hanged yet in your shoes." Even Rowe, longing for peace and thus threatened, never lost his balance. "The people have done amiss," he wrote some years later, "and no sober man can vindicate their conduct; but the revenge of the Ministry is too severe."

Christopher Champlin of Newport complains in 1775, and before Bunker Hill, that one of his ships and cargoes had been taken by Admiral Graves for the use of the army and fleet at Boston. "This matter is extremely hard on me and is attended with much expence." Captain Wallace gave assurance that the cargo and freights would be paid for by the government, but the sense of loss and injury remained. Acting within their powers the requisitioning of provision was thus early exerted, and not always to the indemnifying of the owners. Merchants, like Champlin, would be willing to supply either side, but the foreign correspondents, in England, Portugal, the West Indies and other colonies, viewed the approaching outburst with other feelings. Ports closed, remittances stopped, markets glutted with produce, and prices subject to fluctuations beyond prediction, debts at risk and credit shaking—everywhere in Europe the merchant with American connections wrote gravely, hoping against his better judgment and anxiously longing for a return to ordinary courses of trade. Commerce is conservative.

The war was to be a short one. Every war is so regarded at the outset. The British expected to clear the neighborhood of Boston in a few weeks' time, and watched the growing collection of farmers round it with complacency, believing that the larger this force the more decisive would be the single blow to be struck for its scattering. Experienced generals, disciplined troops, a naval force and the habit of lawful authority could have but one effect when thrown against

an unorganized rabble, imperfectly officered, with a train-band efficiency, and rebels. A crushing defeat of the colonists, and peace would be restored without devastation of country. Hutchinson even welcomed so many pens drawn in defence of government, to his mind, much better than drawing swords. But he then knew only of Lexington. Every restraining act of Parliament or threat of further acts aroused opposition or more firmly united the questioning colonists. Every government ship entering Boston harbor or soldier landed was an argument against accepting the situation. Every cannon ball fired from Boston, Fitch said, did more to exhilarate the spirits of our people than two hundred gallons of New England rum. He knew of what he was speaking. The days and weeks precious for peace were wasted, and every hour weighed heavily in the scale of war until there could be no peace or even truce. It required seven full years to educate a public on both sides of the water, and marvellous was the change.

Placemen and army agreed in believing the war should be ruthlessly waged—if necessary. Lawyers quoted their books or openly favored revolt believing the liberty of the subject more valuable than any political or reluctant recognition of Parliament's supremacy. The clergy—the guides in morality—were divided. Hutchinson thought those in the dissenting churches favored rebellion, fearing to lose their pulpits if they opposed. Rev. Edward Winslow, of Braintree, was called to account for "talking, preaching, or praying disrespectfully of the present government," and his defence, that he was enjoined by the Bible to fear God and honor the king, was brushed aside as irrelevant. Dr. Cooper dipped into Revelations for his text, a famous book for texts in troublous times, and when he talked of that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which devoureth the whole world, his congregation smelt politics. So one Ellis on a Sunday preached on Romans: 13, 7, on rendering tribute to whom tribute was due, in which "he meddled a little with matters of religion, and also gave some broad hints in the military way." Another, Ebenezer Gay, insisted that the ancient weapons of the church were prayers and tears, not clubs. In camp religious exercises were

regularly held; and a man like the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson gained that experience in war which made him in peace a beloved pastor and nothing of a political guide. Churches in the town were closed—devoted to military purposes; those in the country were split by the political divisions. The loyalists became refugees and, leaving the country, began life anew in a strange country.

America had been to these refugees a very happy country; they saw with sorrow a temporary lapse from happiness, and longed to disillusion the mad seekers for a change leading direct to independence in name, but destruction in fact. They believed and nursed the hope that on a change of heart, the people would revert to their allegiance, and in a penitential frame of mind, born of bitter experience, would confess their fault and become once more loyal subjects of the king. The loyalists as a whole departed more in sorrow than in anger; and suffering much in mind by the separation, they used moderate language against the people and reserved their bitterest epithets for the leaders of the crowd, the interested demagogues who had fanned the spark of civil strife into a flame, for purposes of their own. "I never injured any man to my knowledge," said Deblois, a Boston merchant, "and the crime I have been guilty of is that of thinking differently from the multitude of public matters." Some, like Auchmuty, rather enjoyed an English visit. Living was cheaper in England, and there "you may live just as you please. If your taste leads you to gaiety and high life, and your fortune will admit of it, you may satiate yourself with both; if to quietude and rational pleasures, in those you also may indulge, and on easy terms." Pity for America, even from those who had received harsh treatment, dominated, mingled with a fear lest license would sink the people into misery, debauch their morals and rob them of their true happiness. As time went on and the ministerial armies, assisted by foreign mercenaries, did not make much progress towards reducing the rebellion; as the pressure of need became greater, the tone passes to one of querulousness, and into bitterness. The "detestable alliance" with France did much to produce this change, weaning many

from any sympathy for the colonists, and driving the cool and indifferent into the ranks of the ministerialists. "For the Americans," continued Auchmuty, "to connect themselves with a people whose faith and promises are no more to be relied on than the most glaring and notorious falsities, whose manners and customs are immoral, irrational and destructive, whose government is most unjust, as arbitrary and wicked, and whose religion is nothing more than an audacious mockery of Heaven, is a political manœuvre which astonishes every true lover of civil and religious rights." England was not the place to measure the effect of hired Hessians as against French. A broadside in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, printed in both English and German, records how the progress of the British and Hessian troops through New Jersey had been attended with such scenes of desolation and outrage as would disgrace the most barbarous nations, and does not mince language in describing outrages upon women—a feature inseparable from war.

We have considered only the men, for they were articulate, shouting from pulpit or rostrum, filling the press with their cries, and taking their place at the head of mob or military company. There was an even more numerous inarticulate population. Not only did the moderate stand dumb, amazed by what passed before them, silent, not from want of conviction, but because they could not convince themselves that either side was wholly right; but there were the women and children. The one suffered by separation, by anxieties haunting them day and night, by cares thrust upon them when means failed for meeting them. They began to retrench in simple ornaments and luxuries from the first stamp act, and sought to be independent of Great Britain in consumption and manufacture. They had no means of expressing their opinions on war, but must silently bear the loss and the evil disturbances. A few have left their thoughts for us—Abigail Adams, for instance, whose strength of mind contrasts strongly with her loving weakness. Never did women like her falter for one moment, and their full sympathy for the dangers run by their own constituted a reservoir of strength and inspiration of

which little note has been taken, chiefly because the records are so few.

Mrs. Mercy Warren, of unquestioned patriot stock, indulged in satire, adopting the dramatic form, perhaps unfortunately for her. The letters of Abigail Adams, her friend, will live longer than the blank verse of Mrs. Warren. In her dramas she represents Oliver, Hutchinson, Ruggles and others in no very brilliant colors; in the drone of the lines we nod, and forget that the play had a definite purpose. In the *dramatis personae* of "The Group," after naming her principal characters she describes the chorus in terms which cannot be mistaken: "Attended by a swarm of court sycophants, hungry harpies, and unprincipled dangles, collected from the neighbouring villages, hovering over the stage in the shape of locusts, led by Massachusettensis [Leonard] in the form of a basilisk; the rear brought up by Proteus, bearing a torch in one hand, and a powder-flask in the other: The whole supported by a mighty army and navy, from blunderland, for the laudable purpose of enslaving its best friends." The satire weighs heavily, but is unusual, as it was rare indeed for a woman to give public expression to her political views. As to the children, the impression made on their minds remained vivid, so vivid as to be handed down from generation to generation. Little John Quincy Adams watched from afar the flames of Charlestown, and *his* sons never forgot what he felt. On unborn generations the gospel of hate leaves its mark.

In studying the later effects of this contest, it is seen how frothy and unimportant this language of denunciation was—like an exchange of bombastic proclamations by commanders of opposing armies intent upon avoiding an actual conflict. The letters of Burgoyne and Charles Lee, for example, the one posturing in histrionic attitudes, the other in the buskin of rhetoric, do not convince of the sincerity of the writers, though then accepted as a quasi-official expression of hostility. From the royal gazettes in New York, Charleston or Philadelphia the abuse heaped upon the rebels and their leaders could not influence any but the already extreme royalist. It

was partly manufactured for consumption in England and even there the British journalists, under court control as they were, could not stomach the manifestly false victories, the fulsome praise of the generals, and the total depravity of the colonists. Forged letters, doctored intercepted papers, local and personal allusions in prose and verse, only within a narrow compass could this outpour be appreciated. It was much the same with the patriot journals; they too circulated for the most part locally, serving up rumors, imaginative victories and personal attacks with little discrimination and less truth.

The misfortune of such language is that it acts most strongly upon the weakest element in a community—those least respecting law and order. On the fringe of every agitation is found a number who claim to be concerned for the best of motives, yet who are governed by interest—immediate or remote. The merchant who stood ready to supply either side, the politician who loudly proclaimed his views of safety until he could spot the winning side, the appreciable numbers who had neither property nor any real roots in the town, these formed the dangerous element, tending to lawlessness in furthering their own ends. A meeting of indignation easily degenerated into a riot; a town meeting readily passed into a mass meeting, when the harangue of the ill-balanced counted for as much as if not more than the words of a wise leader, and this dangerous fringe, employing force, not reason, precipitated consequences deplorable for the opportunities it gave to the other party. The plundering of a store, the tarring and feathering of an undesirable citizen, the threats and mob attacks against supposed or known loyalists, the robbing of law-abiding colonists—acts such as these are recorded for all time. Cruel, unnecessary and ill-judged at the time, they become an ineradicable part of the history of the time, a blot upon popular movements, crimes against humanity.

And the consequences persist beyond a reasonable period—for generations. Later events did not tend to take off the edge of injury—the War of 1812, the Oregon question, the attitude of Europe in our civil war, each contributed its annoying reminder of hostile feelings. Our school histories

taught us to harbor hate, and jaundiced Bancroft wrote as if he had never heard of forgetful charity. In our own generation we have seen a section of the country eager for war with our old parent, and for no other reason than a few votes on one side or the other. I do not refer to today, but to forty years ago. False facts, false ideas on history, work harm in unexpected directions, and mutual misunderstanding on both sides perpetuated a distrust and positive dislike which still make themselves felt. We know the whole record of the War for Independence on both sides, from the most corrupt and depraved supporters of extreme measures—like George Germain—to the sincere but misguided defender of royal prerogative—George III. We know it from the bounty jumper in the continental army to the commanding general, and when the two sides are set against one another, we see how much can be said in justice for both. A terrible misunderstanding, an inevitable conflict, the evolutionist asserts, a permanent gain to civilization—no matter what view is taken, it ends in a feeling of wonder that, descended from the same stock, using the same language and presumably nursing the same ambitions, two branches of one race could have so contended and hated. What might have been, is measured by the British Empire of today; but that is because the language is really the same.

To a later generation the evidence is convincing, why was it not to the powers of that day? The disturbance raised by the Stamp Act was merely the coming to a head of unrest, but its purport could not be mistaken. The joy and outburst of loyalty on the repeal of the Stamp Act surely should have been interpreted in but one way. Here in Boston there were very grand illuminations all over town, an obelisk on the Common very beautifully decorated, fireworks, and feasts, at one of which fifteen very loyal toasts were drank. Throughout New England it was the same. The apprehensions caused by the act gave way to a sense of relief, in both authorities and people. More than that, the anniversary of the repeal was observed each year, and the toasts showed no falling off in the respect for royalty and the protestations of love for

the mother country. The duties on imports followed, town meetings, petitions, protests, merchants committees, British troops, Sons of Liberty—the succession of materials and instruments of agitation followed so rapidly as to give little opportunity to pause. In England authority must be exercised, discipline imposed and punishment meted out. Power and its agents lived in an atmosphere carefully prepared by a sense of injury and opposition, a poisoned atmosphere deadening its capacity for sympathy with possible wrongs, and choking off the will to remedy. The tea duty and its consequences precipitated the crisis, and all the charges against the colonies became true. They were rebellious, they were against the king, they were seeking independence. The speeches of Chatham, Burke and other friends of the Americans, so convincing to us, fell upon deaf ears. The dignified protests, the petitions calmly recounting offences against justice, against constitutional rights and privileges, were ignored or treated with contempt. We could understand it better had the movement been of less extent; but, organized by committees of correspondence, the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia spoke the same language. The protestants would cease to be English subjects without an assurance of the rights belonging to such a subject. The Stamp Act and its successors became in the public eye “enormous engines, fabricated by the British Parliament, for battering down all the rights and liberties of America: the means of reducing the body of the people to ignorance, poverty and dependence.” The common language of the day, on both sides, in England as well as America, lavished expressions of exaggeration and hate, but to few was it given to understand the same words in their opposing meanings.

Did any reason exist for this change in language? A sudden cry awakens alarm, a shriek may excite terror; abusive and insulting words prevent for the moment reply and threats overbear temporarily opposition. Yet in no modern war has the terrible in word or thought—Schrecklichkeit—conquered; at no time has blind fury succeeded in crushing a people unless extermination be applied. The Indians of New England were

swept away as devils—remorselessly, without pity or protection until pity and protection could bring them no advantage. Has any nation applied that policy to white peoples without incurring a penalty of deadly import? The War of Independence drove from us a population we could ill spare, and contumely was looked upon as a most efficient weapon. We read the perfervid denunciations on either side with amazement—and in our daily newspaper we find the same extreme, unreasonable, general denunciation, applied to all involved, the shrieking of unmoral partisans who cannot plead ignorance or suffering in extenuation. This is an insane interval, in which the calm voice of law, of ideal, reminds us that there is something higher than force, something greater than war. It was an ideal which asserted itself at Bunker Hill: maintained, it makes the United States the arbiter of the world, on the side of truth and perfect justice.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER AND
REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

INCOME ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

JUNE 1, 1914, TO JUNE 1, 1915

BALANCE CASH ON HAND, JUNE 1, 1914		\$504.99
ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT	\$3,483.80	
INTEREST ON DEPOSITS.	12.73	
RECEIVED from John W. Dennett for Privilege of Selling Souvenirs	250.00	
FOUR CERTIFICATES OF MEMBERSHIP	4.00	
DONATION to liquidate indebtedness: Dr. J. Collins Warren	50.00	3,800.53
		<hr/>
		<u>\$4,305.52</u>

EXPENDITURES

SALARIES:

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	781.00
Mary A. Bruce, <i>Clerk</i>	480.00
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	305.00
George A. Lee, <i>Sunday Duty, and four Nights</i>	42.00
William Sullivan, <i>Police</i>	67.50
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	250.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,825.50

GENERAL EXPENSES:

Gas and Electric Lighting	191.78
University Press, Binding Copies of Proceedings.	163.50
University Press, Miscellaneous Printing	52.25
Advertising Annual Meeting	11.40
Water Rates	20.60
Liability Insurance	87.88
Luncheon, Hotel Vendome, 17th June, 1914	147.00
Secretary for Postage	5.00
Fuel	181.25
Estate P. O'Reardon, Carting Ashes	3.00
Printing Reports and Expense of Posting Same	256.22
John W. Dennett, Sundries and Repairs	332.44
Equilibrator	5.00
Engraving Diplomas	3.85
Card Index	5.00
	<hr/>
	1,466.17

\$4,291.67

Balance Cash on hand May 31, 1915.

13.85

\$4,305.52

PERMANENT FUND

RECEIPTS

JUNE 1, 1914, TO JUNE 1, 1915.

Balance on Hand June 1, 1914	\$282.36
Initiation Fees	\$180.00
Coupons on American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 4's	40.00
Coupons on Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé 4's	40.00
Interest on Parti-Mortgage (Silverstein)	12.78
Gift from Charles M. Green, "The Thomas Wetherbee Fund"	500.00
Interest on the Deposit in the Old Colony Trust Company	2.88
	<hr/>
	775.66
	<hr/>
	<hr/> \$1,058.02 <hr/>

EXPENDITURES

1914		
June 11	Purchase from the Conveyancers Title Insurance Co. (Silverstein parti-mortgage)	\$500.00
1915		
June 1	Balance on Deposit with the Old Colony Trust Co.	558.02
		<u>\$1,058.02</u>

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

Debits		
The Monument	\$133,649.83	
Granite Lodge	37,512.07	
		<u>\$171,161.90</u>
1 Parti-Mortgage (Silverstein)	500.00	
1000 American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 4's 1929	910.00	
500 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé 4's, 1995 (Gen'l mtg.)	496.87	
500 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé 4's, 1995 (Gen'l mtg.)	486.96	
		<u>2,393.83</u>
Cash on Hand, Income Account	13.85	
Cash on Hand, Permanent Fund	558.02	571.87
		<u>\$174,127.60</u>
Credits		
Capital	\$171,161.90	
Parti-Mortgage	500.00	
Bonds	1,893.83	
Cash on Hand, Income Account	13.85	
Cash on Hand, Permanent Fund	558.02	
		<u>\$174,127.60</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1915, have attended to that duty, and report that they find the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to us.

They have also examined the securities of the Society, and find them correct according to the Treasurer's statement.

CHARLES F. READ,
WILLIAM O. COMSTOCK, } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 16, 1915.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS

FROM THE UNITED STATES

Alabama	101	Nevada	57
Arizona	105	New Hampshire	891
Arkansas	107	New Jersey	1,003
California	414	New York	3,212
Colorado	158	New Mexico	56
Connecticut	802	North Carolina	118
Delaware	127	North Dakota	72
Florida	163	Ohio	713
Georgia	181	Oklahoma	99
Idaho	96	Oregon	336
Illinois	968	Pennsylvania	1,523
Indiana	348	Rhode Island	552
Iowa	295	South Carolina	56
Kansas	188	South Dakota	77
Kentucky	139	Tennessee	118
Louisiana	110	Texas	73
Maine	1,028	Utah	150
Maryland	271	Vermont	497
Massachusetts	7,762	Virginia	198
Michigan	484	West Virginia	131
Minnesota	585	Washington	199
Mississippi	68	Wisconsin	266
Missouri	284	Wyoming	58
Montana	79		
Nebraska	158		25,476
District of Columbia			219

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Africa	8	Ireland	10
Australia	19	Italy	7
Austria	8	Japan	72
Asia	2	Mexico	11
British Columbia	14	New Zealand	4
Canada	382	Norway & Sweden	5
Central America	8	Scotland	26
China	33	South Africa	2
Cuba	19	Spain	1
England	116	Switzerland	4
France	9	Turkey	5
Germany	18	West Indies	6
Hawaiian Island	21		
Holland	2		
India	13		825

From the United States	25,476
From District Columbia	219
From Foreign Countries	825

Total 26,520

HONORARY MEMBERS

1888 . . .

NELSON APPLETON MILES.

1895

GASTON DE SAHUNE LA FAY-
ETTE.

1893

HORACE PORTER.

1910

JEAN ADRIEN ANTOINE JULES
JUSSERAND.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

A

Gordon Abbott.
Edwin Hale Abbot.
Charles Francis Adams.
Edward Brinley Adams.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
George Russell Agassiz.
Maximilian Agassiz.
John Adams Aiken
John Albree.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Edward Brinley Allen.
Gardner Weld Allen.
Glover Morrill Allen.
Oliver Ames.
Ingersoll Amory.
William Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Francis Henry Appleton.
Francis Randall Appleton.
Henry Saltonstall Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall
Luther Atwood.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.
Walter Austin.

B

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Robert Bacon.
William Bacon.
Alvin Richards Bailey.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.
James Warren Bailey.
Amos Prescott Baker.
Ezra Henry Baker.
George Storer Baldwin.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Hugh Bancroft.
William Amos Bancroft.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Francis Reginald Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Elmer Walter Barron.
Frank Trask Barron.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Walter Clark Bates.
Willis Carroll Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Charles Newcomb Baxter.
Frank William Bayley.
Walter Cabot Baylies.
Boylston Adams Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.

Alfred Whitney Bell.
 Charles Upham Bell.
 Stoughton Bell.
 William Gibson Bell.
 Frank Brewer Bemis.
 Josiah Henry Benton.
 William Emery Bicknell.
 Charles Wesley Birtwell.
 Clarence John Blake.
 Henry Nichols Blake.
 John Amory Lowell Blake.
 William Payne Blake.
 Thomas Dennie Boardman.
 Joshua Peter Langley Bodfish.
 Joel Carlton Bolan.
 Charles Knowles Bolton.
 John Bordman.
 Edward Tracy Bouvé.
 Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
 Alfred Bowditch.
 Charles Pickering Bowditch.
 Jeffrey Richardson Brackett.
 Edward Hickling Bradford.
 George Gardner Bradford.
 William Burroughs Bradford.
 Henry Willard Bragg.
 Edward Walter Branigan.
 Charles Norcross Breed.
 Frank Brewster.
 John Frederick Flemmich Brewster.
 William Joseph Brickley.
 Clarence Saunders Brigham.
 John Franklin Briry.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.

Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Shepherd Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Gilbert Patten Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Herbert Wheildon Browne.
 Webster Bruce.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Alfred Monson Bullard.
 George Edwin Bullard.
 William Norton Bullard.
 Augustus George Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 Charles Dana Burrage.
 Charles Dana Burrage, Jr.
 John Standish Foster Bush.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C

Eliot Lincoln Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 Grosvenor Calkins.
 Donald McLennan Cameron.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Guy Edward Carleton.
 William Dudley Carleton.
 Albert Eaton Carr.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Prescott Chamberlain.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 Walter Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.

Munroe Chickering.
Tileston Chickering.
William Worcester Churchill.
Arthur Tirrell Clark.
Frederic Simmons Clark.
Henry Paston Clark.
Arthur French Clarke.
George Kuhn Clarke.
Hermann Frederick Clarke.
Charles Warren Clifford.
James David Coady.
Darius Cobb.
Charles Russell Codman.
Rufus Coffin.
Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
William Ogilvie Comstock.
Charles Allerton Coolidge.
Ernest Hall Coolidge.
Frederic Austin Coolidge.
Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
John Joseph Copp.
Joseph John Corbett.
Edward Cowles.
Edward Jones Cox.
Edwin Sanford Crandon.
George Uriel Crocker.
Joseph Ballard Crocker.
Douglas Crook.
Clifford Fenton Crosby.
James Allen Crosby.
Francis Boardman Crowninshield.
Prentiss Cummings.
Henry Winchester Cunningham.
Charles Otis Currier.
Charles Pelham Curtis.
Elmer Lewis Curtis.

John Silsbee Curtis.
Frederic Haines Curtiss.
Grafton Dulany Cushing.
Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

D

Philip Spaulding Dalton.
James Dana.
Richard Henry Dana.
Edwin Alfred Daniels.
Charles Kimball Darling.
Francis Henry Davenport.
George Howe Davenport.
Andrew McFarland Davis.
Bancroft Gherardi Davis.
Horace Davis.
John Morton Davis.
Hilbert Francis Day.
John George Dearborn.
Joseph Waldo Denny.
Clarence Holbrook Denny.
Charles Lunt De Normandie.
James De Normandie.
Philip Yardley De Normandie.
Robert Laurent De Normandie.
Richard Devens.
Franklin Dexter.
Gordon Dexter.
Philip Dexter.
Marquis Fayette Dickinson.
William Edward Lovell Dillaway.
Pitt Dillingham.
Charles Healy Ditson.
George Lincoln Dodd.
Horace Dodd.
Edward Sherman Dodge.

Frank Albert Dodge.
 Arthur Walter Dolan.
 Wilfred James Doyle.
 Charles Acton Drew.
 William Duane.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.
 Walter Hovey Dugan.
 Henry Dorr Dupee.
 James Alexander Dupee.
 Theodore Francis Dwight.

E

William Storer Eaton.
 Henry Herbert Edes.
 Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Samuel Atkins Eliot.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 George Henry Ellis.
 Ephraim Emerton.
 Robert Wales Emmons, 2d.
 William Endicott.
 William Crowninshield Endicott.
 Charles Sidney Ensign.
 Charles Sidney Ensign, Jr.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 Harold Clarence Ernst.
 Roger Ernst.
 Arthur Frederic Estabrook.
 George William Evans.
 Edward Everett.

F

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.

William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Augustus Alanson Fales.
 John Whittimore Farwell.
 Henry Gregg Fay.
 George Prentice Field.
 William Wallace Fenn.
 Horace Cecil Fisher.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Allan Forbes.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Leon Frederic Foss.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Charles Henry Wheelwright Foster.
 Francis Apthorp Foster.
 Francis Charles Foster.
 Hatherly Foster.
 Joseph Foster.
 William Plumer Fowler.
 John Andrews Fox.
 Walter Sylvanus Fox.
 Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Joseph La Forme Frothingham.
 Louis Adams Frothingham.
 Paul Revere Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Henry Holton Fuller.
 Robert Morton Fullerton.

G

Charles Theodore Gallagher.
 George Peabody Gardner.
 Frank Augustine Gardner.
 George Minot Garland.

Ernest Lewis Gay.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 George Washington Gay.
 William Gordon Gerry.
 Charles Gibson.
 Isaac Stebbins Gilbert.
 Shepard Devereux Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Augustus Goddard.
 Willard Chambers Gompf.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Charles Eliot Goodspeed.
 John Gott.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Charles Pelham Greenough.
 Randolph Clark Grew.
 William Elliot Griffis.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.
 Courtenay Guild.
 Curtis Guild.

H

Edward Hale.
 Richard Walden Hale.
 Robert Sever Hale.
 Franklin Austin Hall.
 Thomas Hills Hall.
 Charles Sumner Hamlin.
 Edgar Forsythe Hanson.
 Samuel Hammond.
 Henry Mason Harper.
 Walter Leo Harrington.

Samuel Tibbetts Harris.
 Thaddeus William Harris.
 Albert Bushnell Hart.
 Thomas Norton Hart.
 William Parker Hart.
 Clifford Bicknell Hastings.
 Henry Hastings.
 Edward Oliver Hatch.
 Albert Fearing Hayden.
 Frank Conant Hayward.
 Augustus Hemenway.
 Joseph Putnam Bradlee Henshaw.
 Everett Carleton Herrick.
 Eben Newell Hewins.
 Lewis Wilder Hicks.
 Francis Lee Higginson.
 Henry Lee Higginson.
 John Lewis Hildreth.
 William Henry Hill.
 Freeman Hinckley.
 Samuel Parker Hinckley.
 Turner Hodgdon.
 Amor Hollingsworth.
 Valentine Hollingsworth.
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.
 Robert Homans.
 Horace James Hooton.
 George Thomas Horan.
 Edward Augustus Horton.
 Clement Stevens Houghton.
 Archibald Murray Howe.
 Edward Willard Howe.
 Henry Saltonstall Howe.
 Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe.
 Charles Warren Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.

Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Clarence Blake Humphreys.
 James Melville Hunnewell.
 Francis William Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 Gordon Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.
 Edward Bryant Hutchinson.
 George Hutchinson.
 Winfield Scott Hutchinson.

I

George Brimmer Inches.

J

Charles Cabot Jackson.
 Henry Percy Jaques.
 Benjamin Joy Jeffries.
 John Temple Lloyd Jeffries.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Angier Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 George Franklin Jewett.
 Alfred Johnson.
 Arthur Stoddard Johnson.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Benjamin Mitchell Jones.
 Jerome Jones.
 Malcolm Francis Jones.
 Theodore Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.
 Franklin Lawrence Joy.

K

John Joseph Keenan.
 Andrew Paul Keith.
 William Vail Kellen.
 John William Kennington.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 Reuben Kidner.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.
 Patrick Joseph Kyle.
 William Seward Kyle.

L

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 Leslie Langill.
 Charles Rockwell Lanman.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 Charles William Leatherbee.
 John Leavitt.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Joseph Lee.
 Henry Lefavour.
 George Bridge Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.

Ernest Everett Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 Wilford Jacob Litchfield.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Thomas Leonard Livermore.
 William Roscoe Livermore.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Arthur Lord.
 Calvin Lord.
 Samuel Crane Lord.
 Samuel Davis Lord.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 William Caleb Loring.
 Abbott Lawrence Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.
 William Henry Lyon.

M

John Hildreth McCollom.
 Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Charles John McIntire.
 Edward McLellan.
 John William McMahan.
 Frederick Mann.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.

Francis Coffin Martin.
 George Ritchie Marvin.
 John Reginold Marvin.
 Charles Frank Mason.
 Albert Matthews.
 Nathan Matthews.
 Frederick Goddard May.
 Frank Merriam.
 Albert Brown Merrill.
 Roger Bigelow Merriman.
 Edward Percival Merritt.
 Grafton Winthrop Minot.
 Joseph Grafton Minot.
 Robert Bruce Mitchell.
 Samuel Jason Mixter.
 John Torrey Morse, Jr.
 William Russell Morse.
 James Madison Morton.
 Marcus Morton.
 Ben Perley Poore Moseley.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.
 Frederick Strong Moseley.
 John Lothrop Motley.
 Thomas Motley.
 Warren Motley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.
 James Gregory Mumford.
 Harold Murdock.
 James Smiley Murphy.

N

Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Arthur Howard Nichols.
 Philip Tillinghast Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 Joseph Warren Noble.

Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O

William Herbert Oakes.
 Robert Lincoln O'Brien.
 John James O'Callaghan.
 William Henry O'Connell.
 Robert William Oliver.
 James Monroe Olmstead.
 Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 William Newton Osgood.
 Herbert Foster Otis.

P

Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Charles Edwards Park.
 Lawrence Park.
 Frederick Wesley Parker.
 Herbert Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.
 Percy Parker.
 Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 Leighton Parks.
 James Parker Parmenter.
 Charles Sumner Parsons.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Francis Peabody.
 Albion Parsons Pease.
 Paul Frederick Peck.
 Charles Lawrence Peirson.

Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
 George Grindley Spence Perkins.

Alvah Henry Peters.
 Frederick George Pettigrove.
 Stephen Willard Phillips.
 Edward Charles Pickering.
 Henry Goddard Pickering.
 William Henry Pickering.
 Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Joseph C. Pelletier.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
 David Pingree.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George Arthur Plympton.
 George Edward Pollard.
 Robert Marion Pratt.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 Morton Prince.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q

Josiah Quincy.

R

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 Edward Melvin Raymond.
 Charles French Read.
 Philip Reade.
 Alanson Henry Reed.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 Warren Augustus Reed.

William Bernard Reid.
Edward Hutchinson Robbins
Revere.
Joseph Warren Revere.
William Bacon Revere.
Edward Reynolds.
John Phillips Reynolds.
James Ford Rhodes.
Franklin Pierce Rice.
Herbert Dexter Rice.
Amor Hollingsworth Richardson.
Gedney King Richardson.
Parker Jones Richardson.
Spencer Cumston Richardson.
William Cumston Richardson.
William Lambert Richardson.
William Minard Richardson.
Edward J. Ripley.
Arthur Rhodes Robertson.
Charles Stuart Robertson.
William Robie.
Edward Blake Robins.
John Robinson.
William Robinson.
James Hardy Ropes.
George Howard Malcolm
Rowe.
Henry Sherburne Rowe.
Arthur Prentiss Rugg.
Frank Rumrill.
William Stanton Rumrill.
Thomas Russell.
Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S

Endicott Peabody Saltonstall.
John Lee Saltonstall.

Richard Middlecott Salton-
stall.
Calvin Proctor Sampson.
George Augustus Sanderson.
Clifford Denio Sawyer.
Edward Keyes Sawyer.
William Frederic Sawyer.
James Schouler.
William Hunt Seabury.
George Bowman Sears.
Henry Francis Sears.
Horace Scudder Sears.
Thomas Oliver Selfridge.
George Brune Shattuck.
Francis Shaw.
Henry Southworth Shaw.
Robert Gould Shaw.
Harvey Newton Shepard.
John Parker Rice Sherman.
William Green Shillaber.
Abraham Shuman.
Howard Livingston Shurtleff.
William Simes.
William Stearns Simmons.
Edward Epps Sparhawk.
Arthur Reinhardt Smith.
Benjamin Farnham Smith.
Charles Card Smith.
Charles Francis Smith.
Charles Francis Smith, Jr.
Fitz Henry Smith, Jr.
Frank Langdon Smith.
Franklin Webster Smith.
Jeremiah Smith.
Mark Edward Smith.
Charles Armstrong Snow.
Robert Alexander South-
worth.

Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Philo Woodruff Sprague.
 Rufus William Sprague.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Roderick Stebbins.
 Solon Whithed Stevens.
 Howard Stockton.
 Lawrence Mason Stockton.
 Philip Stockton.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 James Savage Stone.
 Lincoln Ripley Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Augustus Whittemore Stover.
 Willis Whittemore Stover.
 Charles Edwin Stratton.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Sumner Sullivan.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.
 Allen Swift.
 Lindsay Swift.

T

Thomas Francis Taff.
 Henry Fuller Tapley.
 Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.
 Charles Irving Thayer.
 Eugene Van Rensselaer
 Thayer.
 Ezra Ripley Thayer.
 John Eliot Thayer.
 William Roscoe Thayer.
 Washington Butcher Thomas.

Eben Francis Thompson.
 John Thompson.
 Marshall Putnam Thompson.
 Albert Thorndike.
 Augustus Larkin Thorndike.
 Augustus Thorndike.
 John Larkin Thorndike.
 James Brown Thornton.
 Walter Eliot Thwing.
 Samuel Everett Tinkham.
 James Pike Tolman.
 William Ropes Trask.
 David Howard Tribou.
 Washington Benson Trull.
 George Fox Tucker.
 George Frederick Tufts.
 Nathan Fitz Tufts.
 John Franklin Turner.
 Julius Herbert Tuttle.
 Edward Royall Tyler.

U

Daniel Berkeley Updike.

V

Frederic Henry Viaux.

W

Frederick August Walker.
 Eugene Wambaugh.
 Frank Edwards Warner.
 Joseph Bangs Warner.
 Charles Warren.
 Edward Ross Warren.
 Henry Lee Jaques Warren.
 John Collins Warren.
 John Warren.
 Joseph Warren.

Lucius Henry Warren.	William Whitman.
Nathan Warren.	Morris Fearing Whiton.
William Fairfield Warren.	George Clark Whittemore.
Winslow Warren.	Albert Rufus Whittier.
Walter Kendall Watkins.	Charles Edward Wiggin.
Thomas Russell Watson.	George Wigglesworth.
Winslow Charles Watson.	Henry Crafts Wiley.
Walter Frederick Watters.	Arthur Walter Willard.
Stephen Minot Weld.	Levi Lincoln Willcutt.
Alfred Easton Wellington.	William Lithgow Willey.
Frederick Augustus Wellington.	Charles Herbert Williams.
Jonas Francis Wellington.	George Frederick Williams.
Arthur Holbrook Wellman.	Henry Morland Williams.
Joshua Wyman Wellman.	Holden Pierce Williams.
Edgar Huidekoper Wells.	Horace Dudley Hall Williams.
Barrett Wendell.	Joseph Williams.
Barrett Wendell, Jr.	Moses Williams.
John Henry Westfall.	Moses Williams, Jr.
Robert Dickson Weston.	Stillman Pierce Williams.
Thomas Weston.	Albert Edward Winship.
Thomas Weston, Jr.	William Henry Winship.
Winthrop Wetherbee.	Erving Winslow.
Henry Wheeler.	Robert Winsor.
Horace Leslie Wheeler.	Frederick Winthrop.
George William Wheelwright.	Robert Mason Winthrop.
William Gleason Wheildon.	Roger Wolcott.
Bradlee Whidden.	Samuel Huntington Wolcott.
Renton Whidden.	William Prescott Wolcott.
Stephen Hampden Whidden.	George Gregerson Wolkins.
Charles James White.	John Woodbury.
Edwin Augustus White.	Charles Jephtha Hill Wood-
James Clarke White.	bury.
McDonald Ellis White.	Henry Ernest Woods.
William Edwin White.	Frank Ernest Woodward.
James Henry Whitman.	Frank Vernon Wright.
	George Wellman Wright.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION, of Boston, Massachusetts, the sum of